STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

Punjab Through the Ages

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

VOLUME 4

Editors

S.R. BAKSHI • RASHMI PATHAK

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The Indian sub-continent, particularly the North-Western regions including the Punjab, had to face most arduous and difficult situations from time to time. Indeed the affluence of the people of this region was the main target of foreigners. But they were given a bold resistance through the ages. The four volumes deal with various significant phases of the rulers, people and their capabilities which in fact paid them rich dividends. The available material has been properly utilised in all these volumes.

Hopefully, these volumes will be useful study for students, researchers and teachers in all academic institutions in our country and abroad.

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Volume – 4

Editors

S.R. Bakshi

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Preface

The Punjab had been the victim of foreign onslaughts from the North-Western regions of Indian sub-continent. The main aim of these invasion was to take advantage of the riches of the people as well as to establish their administration here. But it goes to the credit of the bravery and fearlessness of the people of Punjab that they checkmated these onslaughts and did not allow to tarnish the name of their ancestors. Their bravery indeed has been dealt with in a comprehensive way. Particularly, the role of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is highly appreciable. Thus the Punjab and its people did not lay behind in their acts of administrative capability.

The Punjab Through the Ages have been evaluated into four volumes with comprehensive contents. These volumes deal with the Punjab and NWFP, the historical notes, the land and the people, religions, the clergy, life of Guru Nanak Dev, the misls in various regions of the North-West of the Punjab, military administration, socio-cultural movements in the region, prominent chiefs of the Punjab, Tipu Sultan and his defeat, annexations and political readjustments.

The second volume has surveyed the administration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who ruled over Punjab and the adjoining regions for about four decades, the themes covered are the prevailing political condition, ancestors of the Maharaja, emergence of Ranjit Singh at a fairly young age, British interference, the Anglo-Sikh relations, conquests and annexations, consolidation of Multan, Kashmir and Peshawar, the Anglo-Sikhs war and Maharaja Dalip Singh.

The third volume deals with various significant phases of the freedom movement having deep bearing on Punjab and the participation of important persons. The theme commences with the

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firing in Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar and ends with the attainment of Independence. Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and other have been highlighted.

The volume four has deep bearing on disturbances, Lord William Bentinck and his administration, era of Lord Dulhousie, Sardar Ajit Singh, socio-cultural movements in the Punjab, rights and duties of human beings, ethics, Guru Granth Sahib and Gems from the Sikh Scriptures.

The theme indeed has been well-knit into fifteen chapters based on the available material from various academic institutions.

All these volumes have been dealt with from various angles, viz, political, social, economic, regional etc. Hopefully, they explain the most significant phases of the Punjab through the ages.

We have collected the material from several academic institutions, viz the Sapru House Library, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, Delhi University Library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library and Jawaharlal Nehru University Library and we are thankful to the members of these institutions for their kind support during our researches. We have also collected the material from some of the published works of eminent authors in order to fill up the gaps in these volumes. We indeed feel much beholden to these scholars.

Editors

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1

The Disturbances

The most active movement in the Punjab to overthrow the British rule in India, was started in 1907, which resulted in the deportation of two Punjab leaders, Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The investigations, according to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, showed "that among those implicated were many members of the Arya Samaj."

Alarmed by the deportation of Lajpat Rai, one of its prominent members, a deputation of the Samaj waited upon Sir Denzil Ibbetson the Governor, in May, 1907, to convince him that the Samaj as a body was purely socio-religious, having no connection with politics. The Samaj also published a resolution to the effect. But the government does not seem to have been convinced of it, as according to O'Dwyer, while the Samaj did not include more than 5 per cent of the Hindu population of the Punjab, the enormous proportion of the Hindus convicted of political offences were its members. And according to a report published in Tribune, Sir Ibbetson himself said that while he was pleased to receive an assurance from the Samaj, nearly every District Officer had informed him that, wherever there was an Arya Samaj it was the centre of "seditious talk." The fact seems to be that, whereas the Samaj as a body may not have been interested in politics, its centres offered convenient meeting grounds where people came in contact with those who individually or through some other organisations, were interested in politics and were anxious to throw off the foreign yoke.

The deportation of 1907, did not kill the spirit of the valiant fighters, it rather sharpened their zeal for national independence, and when released, Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh became active once again in various ways. Lajpat Rai established his contacts with Bhai Parma

Nand, a Professor in the Arya Samaj College at Lahore, and through him, by the distribution of books and other means of propaganda, efforts were made to arouse students against the British. Bhai Parma Nand was a daring adventurer whose activities stirred apprehensions in the British minds, who put him on security in 1910. He was sentenced to death in 1915 for his active participation in the Ghadr rebellion at Lahore. Later, however the Viceroy commuted his sentence to that of transportation for life, and after sometime, he was amnestied.

Ajit Singh was no less the man of a high spirit. It 1909 he disappeared from India, and was later found travelling in Persia. Thence he moved to Paris, and shortly after reached Geneva, the centre of revolutionary activity. When the War broke out, he moved to Rio Janeiro, from where he established a close contact with the Ghadr Party in San Francisco.

Just about this time, yet another illustrious figure appeared on the scene. It was Har Dayal, a brilliant young man of scholastic habits who had got himself imbued with a determination of national independence when he was yet a small boy. He belonged to Delhi and was educated there in the St. Stephen's College, where he came into contact with Amir Chand. After his brilliant academic career in Delhi and Lahore, he got a State Scholarship in 1905 for studies in St. John's, Oxford, but threw up his scholarship in 1907, and devoted himself thenceforth actively to the revolutionary activities of his countrymen. He returned from England to Lahore in 1908 and joined Lajpat Rai with whom he stayed for sometime, and then anticipated Gandhi Ji by about ten years, by preaching boycott and passive resistance among a party of young men who stayed with him and were trained for the part they had to play.

Har Dayal left for Europe once again in 1908. From London he moved to Paris, where he stayed with Krishna Verma, who had fled thither from London, after the courageous assassination of Sir Curzon Wyllie by Dhingra, a Punjabi student. From Paris Har Dayal went to Geneva and here for sometime, he edited *Bande Matram*, and returned to India in 1910.

Back in his country, Har Dayal once again undertook the training of a party of youngmen, which included among others one, Chatterji, a Bengali, and another, Dina Nath, a Punjabi. Soon after, however he

left for America, handing over the charge of political training to a teacher in the Cambridge Mission School of Delhi, named Amir Chand, and to a Bengali clerk in the Forest Department, named Rash Bihari. These two persons later organised their activities on a wide scale. They drew their bombs and funds from Bengal and it was as a result of these activities that the murderous attack on the Viceroy was made in December, 1912; and the Lahore bomb murder took place in, 1913, in which a *Chaprassi* (messenger) was killed. Dina Nath, one of their pupils turned approver, a complete information was supplied to the authorities; Rash Bihari escaped, while Amir Chand, together with three others, was hanged. The Session Judge described Amir Chand as the "one who spent his life in furthering murderous schemes which he was too timed to carry out himself."

In the meanwhile, arriving in the United States in 1911, Har Dayal settled himself in Barkeley, California, and kept the torch of the national movement alight amidst the Indian immigrants, chiefly Sikhs, who had settled along the Pacific Coast from Vancouver to San-Francisco since 1907, and who by this time numbered several thousands. In 1913, Har Dayal started his famous 'Ghadr' newspaper which inspired the immigrants to prepare for a fight against the British imperialism in India. In his work he was assisted by Barkatulla, Ram Chandra and Peshawari. Barkatulla belonged to Bhopal and had been a strong advocate of Pan-Islamism. In 1909 he joined Tokio University as a Professor and soon started a paper named the Islamic Fraternity. He had his contacts with Krishna Verma in Paris and in 1911 he visited Cairo, Constantinople and St. Petersburg. On his return from the trip his activities gathered more of a momentum and the tone of his paper became more violent and anti-British, for which it was suppressed by the Japanese Government in 1912, and he was relieved of his post in the University in 1914, thereafter he joined Har Dayal and threw his lot with the Ghadr movement in the U.S.A.

Har Dayal seems to have been in a close confidence with Germany. As his activities in the U.S.A. developed. he also began to be considered as an undesirable alien in that country. His *Ghadr* was translated into various Indian vernaculars, and not only was it circulated freely amongst the Indian immigrants in the United States, its copies were also smuggled into India. Thus Har Dayal used United

States as a base for his attack against the British Government in India and ultimately had to be arrested by that Government in March 1914 with a view to deportation. Being released on bail, he, however forfeited the bail and escaped to Switzerland together with Barkatulla, leaving Peshawari and Ram Chandra behind to carry on the *Ghadr.*

At the time of the outbreak of the First World War, Har Dayal and Barkatulla were in Berlin, carrying on their revolutionary activities against the British from that country. Here they were joined by certain Bengali gentlemen of the same would, such as Chattopadhaya[1] and Chakravarti, a Madrasi named Pillai, and some other Indian heroes, who were attached to the Indian section of the German General Staff and were the leaders of an "Indian Revolutionary Society." According to the Lahore judgement in the third conspiracy case, "This society, which aimed at establishing a Republic in India, held constant meetings attended by Turks, Egyptians, German officials and, most noteworthy of all, German ex-professors and ex-missionaries, who in their time had received the hospitality of the British Government in India. Har Dayal and Chattopadhaya were in daily communication with the German Foreign Office. To carry out the revolution in India there was an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany. Inflammatory letters drafted by the German Government and addressed to the Indian Princes, were translated and printed, and meetings were held in which the common objects of Germany and India were dilated upon, these meetings being sometimes presided over by highly placed German officials."

Just this time Raja Mahendra Pratap joined Har Dayal. It was a welcome addition to the revolutionary group in Germany and their activities went apace. German authorities and the Kaiser treated the Raja with great distinctions and soon he, with Barkatulla and the German Mission, was sent to Kabul to establish an advanced base against the British Government in India. Thus by this time, Har Dayal had spread his activities to a good number of places and had established his branches in several countries. He was in touch with the branches at Calcutta, Delhi and Lahore through his Bengali and Punjabi associates, in the United States and Canada through Ghadr Agency, in the far East through Barkatulla and others and in Kabul through Barkatulla and Raja Mahendra Pratap.

These activities resulted in various troubles against the British. The Pan-Islamist movement was directly encouraged and assisted, thus resulting into several conspiracies such as the "Silk letter." The rebellion in Bengal, for which the leaders, arms, and ammunition were imported through Batavia and Assam, was another result. The rising in Burma and the famous Ghadr movement of the Sikhs, they were also in a way, a result of the revolutionary activities carried on by Har Dayal and his associates.

The Pan-Islamist Movement

The Pan-Islamist movement, which was a purely Islamic movement, but which had a Hindu sympathy, was organised in the Northern India in the second decade of the twentieth century. The basis of the movement was religion, but in its effects it was political and anti-British. The source of inspiration for the movement was the basic sympathy of the Indian Mahommedans towards Turkey.

Turkey had been the 'Sick-man of Europe' for a pretty long time. Different European communities under its control, had been asserting themselves and trying to get their independence. The big powers of Europe always tried to exploit the situtation to their favour and draw as much benefit as possible. The net result of all this was a steady decline of the once mighty Turkish empire. Turkey being a Mahommedan country, it had a natural sympathy of the Indian Muslims.

During the Turco-Italian and Balkan wars of 1911-13, Great Britain had manifested an attitude of complete neutrality, whereas the Indian Mohammedans should have liked the British to show an active sympathy towards Turkey. The speech of Mr. Asquith, the British Prime Minister which he delivered in the connection in November 1912, was rather interpreted to mean an active British hostility not only towards Turkey, but towards Islam itself.

During the World War, Turkey had joined the enemies of Great Britain. The Pan-Islamist section among the Indian Muslims carried on its activities with Turkey, Arabia, Germany and Afghanistan. But after the Central Powers had been defeated, and a sort of harsh treatment was shown towards Turkey, this coupled with the propaganda of the Sultan Abdul Hamid and latter of Enver Pasha, inbued some of

the Muslims of India yet further with the Pan-Islamic aspirations. For a time, they also joined hands with the Hindu revolutionaries in a 'Hindu-Mohammedan Entente,' against the British, which resulted in the Punjab and Bombay outbreaks of April, 1919, and in the more serious Moplah rebellion of 1921-22 The Entonte, however collapsed after spreading disorder and bloodshed over the country for some years.

The rural Mohammedan of India being interested chiefly in their local politics and in their protection against exploitation by the more astute urban Hindus, the movement seems to have been confined basically to the urban Mohammedan Among the most effective members of the movement was Zafar Ali Khan the editor of *The Zamindar* published at Lahore. He in 1912 started subscriptions for the Turkish Crescent, and after having a good amount of money collected, he himself went to Constantinople to present it to the Grand Wazir. On his return, the tone of his paper having become more anti-British the security was forfieted in 1913, under the Press Act. Shortly after not only the security was again confiscated but his press also met the same fate. Mohammad Ali and his brother Shaukat, Ali were the other two active leaders.

Early in 1914, Turkis, Cousul-General came to present a beautiful carpet to the Gadshahi Mosque at Lahore, which had been sent by the Sultan of Turkey as a mark of his gratitude towards the help the Indian Muslims were rendering. And shortly after followed two Turkish doctors of the Red Crescent society itself.

During the Chirstmas week, soon after Turkey had entered the War in 1914, a Mohammedan educational conference was held at Rawalpindi. It was attended by Abul Kalam Azad and Mohammad Ali, who after the conference was over, lectured to young and impressionable Muslim students at tea-parties in some Lahore Colleges and elsewhere. In Februrary 1915, 15 students from Lahore and some students from Peshawar disappeared as a result of this and got into touch with the Indian revolutionary leaders, Mahendra Pratap and Barkatulla, Joint Presidents of 'Provisional Indian Government' who with German help, had made Kabul their advanced base against the British in India.

Some of these students from here, were sent on missions to Persia, Central Asia and Japan, three of whom, together with the

famous Sikh missionary Dr. Mathra Singh, fell in to the hands of the Russia allies of British on the Persian border. They were handed over to the British authorities who hanged them later. Two of the students thus hanged, were carrying letters to the Sultan of Turkey and the third together with Mathura Singh was on a mission to China and Japan. From some of these students the British got in August, 1916, the information regarding the "Silk-letter" plot which had originated in Kabul in 1915-16.

The so called "Silk-letter" plot was designed to unite all the forces of Islam, the Turks, the Afghans, the Arabs, the Frontier tribes and Mohammedans of India, against the British. The plan was that the Frontier Tribes of India would start with an attack and it was hoped that the revolutionary Hindus and the American returned Sikhs in India would atonce join in the conspiracy was organised with some skill in Central. Asia, Hejaz, Mesopotamia, Central Asia and India, and when the start was made, much help was expected from all these quarters.

Just this time, two of the students, who were sons of a Mahommedan soldier in the Punjab, sent a servant who had joined them in Kabul, back to India with some message to their father. When severely heckled, the servant admitted that he had brought a letter written in Persian on lengths of yellow silk and sewn up inside the lining of his coat. The letter dated July 9, 1916, was meant for to Mahmud Hasan, a famous Muslim religious leader in Sind, and in it was described the progress of the movement in Kabul, the formation of the "Provisional Government", etc., and a plan for the organisation of an "Army of God" against the British.

Earlier in 1916, the "Provisional Government" had also despatched a mission to the Russian Governor-General in Turkistan and even to the Tzar of Russia urging upon him to break with England. The Tzar forwarded this information to the British authorities, but later, the Bolshevists tried to make a use of this proposal and stab the British in their back.

..This explains how serious and widely laid plans the movement had. Mahmud Hasan, to whom the "silk-letter" had been addressed, had already got into communication with Ghalib Pasha, the Turkish General in Hejaz from whom he obtained a declaration of Jehad against the British, the copies of which, known as 'Ghalibnama,' were

freely distributed in India. The "Silk-letter" gave him the suggestion to carry his preparations a step further. The headquarters of the "Army of God" were to be ■ Medina and Mahmud Hasan was to be its Commander-in-Chief.

In the Punjab, however these efforts did not go beyond internment of a dozen or so pro-Turkish adherents. Zafar Ali Khan's movements were restricted to his village till the end of the war. The Ali brothers were restricted to a place near Delhi. After his release, Zafar Ali Khan re-started his activities, and in 1920, was sentenced to five years imprisonment. The Ali brothers and Mr. Gandhi under the similar circumstances, were also sentenced to long term imprisonments. The movement, except at Kabul, where the Muslim leaders established contacts with revolutionary Hindus inspired from Berlin, and at some places in India, was entirely distinct from Hindu and Sikh movements in the Punjab. The imprisonment of the leaders led to the development of hostilities between Hindus and the Muslims once again.

The final blow to the movement was given as a result of the summary action of the new Turkish Republic in deposing the Sultan. This abolished the Khilafat and sent the Osman house to wander.

The Agrarian Rising

The Agrarian rising took place suddenly towards the end of February, 1915, in the Muzaffargarh, Multan and Jhang districts of the South-West Punjab, when the Ghadr and the Pan-Islamist movements were just in their thick. Although they had no connection, whatsoever with either the Ghadr or the Pan-Islamist movement, they were inspired and enthused with the same spirit that the Turks and Germans were advancing on India and the British rule would soon end.

The poor Mahommedan peasantry of these districts had been heavily in debt to the Hindu moneylenders. The prices were soaring, and when the epidmic of plague broke out, many Hindus left the villages to take refuge in the towns. Rumours spread that the British had left in one case emissaries were actually sent to the district headquarters to see if the British flag was flying. Incidently, it being Sunday, the flag had been hauled down and the officers were retiring into their huts. This strengthened their belief that the British had left.

Here was an opportunity for the peasants to pay off their old scores. They rose in a body and started an alarming campaign of looting and disorder. The Hindu shops were looted, their account-books in which the debts had been recorded, were destroyed and grain and money plundered. Between 22nd February and 20th March, about fifty gang-robberies were committed on the Hindus. Disorder spread all around; although there was not much loss of life, only five Hindus dying as a result of injuries, and about eight of these peasants being shot by the police or by others in self-defence. the loss and destrustion of property was great. Two of the leaders began to pose as the Crown Prince and the Kaiser, and they moved about freely to organise their followers, giving them high hopes and promises.

Prompt measures were taken to suppress the rising, which was hastened by passing just this time of the Defence of India Act, in March 1915. Special tribunals were immediately set up. Some four thousand of the disturbancemarkers were arrested. About eight hundred of the principal accused were tried by the Multan Tribunal in a few months time, and about five hundred were awarded exemplary punishments. Conciliation Committees were established under impartial and tactful Muslim officers to prevail upon the peasants to give fresh acknowledgement of their debts and to make good the loss of the Hindus, so that good feeling among them should be restored. Within a year or so, thus, perfect peace was established.

The Ghadr Party

The Ghadr Party, unlike other movements, was organised outside India by Indian emigrants, and in it the Sikhs played an influential and a dominant part. Its origin and the part it played in the Punjab and elsewhere may here be briefly traced.

Before the British annexed the Punjab, the Northern and the Northwestern parts of this province had very sparsely been populated. Soon with the development of other and canals means of irrigation and cultivation, this part of the country was colonised and enterprising Sikhs from the Eastern Punjab, migrated to this part and became the wealthiest agricultural community of India. But it was not long before, the increase in family and some factors led to the fragmentation of holdings. The development of the evil of moneylenders impoverished

them further. The monsoons failed successively from 1905 to 1910 thus resulting in a famine. The imperialistic and economic exploitations of the British as Dr. Tarak Nath Das writes in his 'India in world Politics,' added to their poverty and forced this enterprising community to seek other means of employment, and elsewhere outside their country.

In the beginning they migrated to Bengal but later also to Burma, Malaya States, Hong Kong, Singapur, China and other places where they worked as watchmen, policemen, electricians and taxi drivers, etc. In 1888, some Sikh troops attended Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London and on their way back visited Canada, where they were impressed by its riches. Soon steamship companies were set up, which attracted the Punjabis, more particularly the Sikhs, who began to travel thither. In 1904, when the Sikhs in Hong Kong and Shanghai, etc. learnt of the high remunerations and profits available in Canada and the United States of America, a large number of them also decided to go over to those countries. The number of Indians who had migrated to other countries was only 45 in 1904-05, but in 1906 and 1907 the figure increased to 2,124 and by 1907 to 2,623. By 1914, about 20 lakh Indians were working and residing outside India, Africa alone claiming 1,49,790, of them. Whole over the American Continent, the number of the Indian emigrants, by 1910 ran into five figures.

The infilteration of the cheap Indian labour effected American labour agitation for higher wages in 1906 and 1907, with the result that the American workers began to despise these Indians. In 1906, the Canadian Legislature passed the Immigration Act to control the influx of Asiatics into that country. In 1907, the British Columbia Legislature dispossessed the Indians of their right to vote, and in 1908, the Municipal franchise was also taken away from them. Later, the already settled Indians also began to be got rid of through several new means. The Sikhs built a Gurdwara in 1906-7, at Vancouver in the British Columbia at the cost of £15,000. Many Sikhs set up their factories in the country. With the efforts of St. Teja Singh, the 'Guru Nanak Mining Company' was set up with a capital of 2 ½ lakh rupees. At the Eagle Harbour, 250 acres of land was purchased at £ 25,000 for Guru Nanak Colony and another Gurdwara was built at Victoria. All this developed a jealousy in the European minds. The authorities

tried to prevail upon these Indians to migrate to British Honduras where, as they propagated, better prospects would be available, but which was only a land covered with forests, and with a scarce supply of good drinking water. The Indians could not be trapped and the authorities were yet further antagonised.

The policy of racial discrimination in South Africa hardly needs much of explanation. Here many restrictions were placed upon Indians and many discrim inatory taxes imposed on them. In 1893 Mahatma Gandhi had to start an agitation against this attitude of the South African Government which continued for twenty-one years. In 1912 *Sriyut* Gokhle visited Africa to see the fight of the Indians.

In Figi the condition was no better. The Indians there were treated inhumanly, and they being not permitted to send for their families, they were loosing their character. Mr. G.W. Burton in his Fiji Today,' gives a heart-rending story. Thus he writes, an Indian woman leaving her sick child in a coolie-line, went away to work in the field. In the midday recess when she came back in the line to see his ailing child, she was spied by a European sergeant who began to beat her blindly with a cane. The Indian woman with her ailing child was falling on the sergeant's feet, but he paid no heed and went on beating her.

In Australia and Newzealand, the conditions were no better, and the South Indian's were equally despised in Malaya.

Several efforts were made on the American continent to get the grievances of the Indians redressed. But they all failed. On March 14, 1913, a deputation consisting of Bhai Balwant Singh from Vancouver, and Sardar Nand Singh and Sardar Narayan Singh of Phillaur arrived in England. But there too they failed in winning the attention of the authorities. The deputation then came to India. Meetings were held at several places. In a meeting at Amritsar, Bhai Balwant Singh expressed the grievences very clearly. The deputation also met the Viceroy and the Governor of the Punjab at Shimla. But nothing came out of all this and the deputation had to go back discontented.

The Ghadr Party

Before, however the deputation reached back in America, the Indian emigrants there had already realised, that the root-cause of all

their troubles was the slavery of India itself, and till She got her independence, no Indian could expect an honourable treatment by the inhabitants of any country of the world. In March 1913, therefore Kartar Singh Saraba, Karam Singh Chima, Lala Har Dayal, Jawala Singh, Sohan Singh Bhakna and Wasakha Singh, etc. invited the settlers in a conference at Washington. About two hundred attended and founded the 'Hindi Association,' which later began to be called the Ghadr Party.

Head Quarters of the party were to be at San Francisco, and its aim was to liberate India by force. The first President of the party was Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, the chief Secretary Lala Har Dayal, the Treasurer Pandit Kanshi Ram of Ambala and the Organising Secretaries were Munshi Karim Bakhsh of Ludhiana and Munshi Ram of District Hoshiarpur. Among the members of its Executive Committee were, Baba Arur Singh of Chuhr Chak in Ferozepur, Wasakha Singh Dadehr of Amritsar, Bhai Karam Singh Chima of Jullundur, Kartar Singh Saraba of Ludhiana, Nidhan Singh Chuga of Ferozepur, Ishar Singh Margna of Amritsar, Pandit Jagat Ram Hariana, District Hoshiarpur, Barkatulla and Munshi Karim Bakhsh. Majority of the settlers being Sikhs, in the party too they had a majority. Leaders and the members of the Executive Committee, all of them handed over their property and cash to the party.

In October, 1913, the second meeting of the Hindi Association decided to bring out a paper of their own, and on November 1, 1913, was thus the 'Ghadr' started, which was published simultaneously in Hindi, Gurmukhi, Urdu and Marathi. Har Dayal was appointed as its editor, who was soon arrested, but bailed out by his friends, he was helped by them to escape at the cost of bail bonds. Har Dayal thus disappeared from the scene in the United States.

Besides Har Dayal, other important persons who worked in the press for the 'Ghadr,' were Kartar Singh Saraba, Harnam Singh Kotla Nodh Singh and Prithvi Singh Ambala. Manager of the press was Pandit Jagat Ram Hariana. The party bore only their expenses of food and clothings, no other remuneration was paid. The Paper began soon to reach Argentina, Fiji, India, Australia, Newzealand, Zanzibar, East Indies, Siam, Malaya, Burma, China and Japan. Branches of the Party were likewise established in different countries of the world.

The British anxieties in the Punjab increased when just after the War began, thousands of the Sikh emigrants, inspired under the Ghadr propaganda and determined to make their country independent,began to come in the Punjab. who if spread over the Province, were bound to make the British life extremely difficult. Government of India already had 'Foreigner's Ordinance,' to prevent entry and control the movements in India of undesirable aliens. On this basis, the 'Ingress Ordinace' of September 5, 1914 was passed to deal with the Indian emigrants coming back to India. A serious problem arose for the British authorities in the Punjab, when on the 27th Sept. 1914, S.S. Kamagata Maru brought 400 Sikhs and 60 Muslims from the Far East, in Hoogly. A short separate account of the Kamagata Maru may not here be out of place.

The Kamagata Maru

Baba Gurdit Singh. an old Sikh gentleman of the village Sarhali, District Amritsar, who had established a good business in Malya as a contractor, heard from the Sikhs in Canada that the Immigration Laws of the Canadian Government against the Indians had been suspended, and that the country offered very good prospects for a people of enterprising spirit. On January 3, 1914. the Baba reached Hong Kong, where he found a number of Indians willing very much to go to Canda. The Baba had a lucrative business in Malaya, but he felt very much for his countrymen, helots at home and unwelcome abroad except as "coolies." He gave up his business to do something to help his compatriots.

On March 24, 1914, Baba Gurdit Singh chartered at Hong Kong, a ship named Kamagata Maru, from a small Japanese concern named *Shinei Kishen Go Shri Kaisha*, for six months. against a payment of £11,000 a month. Gurdit Singh changed the name of the ship to 'Guru Nanak Jehaz' and prepared for Canada. At first about 500 emigrants offered to travel in the steamer from Hong Kong, but as only a few days before the departure, the Baba was arrested by the Hong Kong police, and put in confinement without any charge being brought against him; and the anti-Indian element in the country made a prompt use of the opportunity to carry a campaign of slander against him, and frighten away the prospective passengers, their number ultimately fell

to 165, with whom the steamer sailed on April 4, 1914. The local authorities had put a ban against the sailing of the steamer to Van couver, and it was only after the personal intervention of the officiating Governor, who happened to be known to the Baba, and after Baba's threats of suit for damages, against the local authorities, that the ban was eventually lifted.

At Shanghai, where the steamer stayed for five days, III new passengers were added to it. From Shanghi it proceeded to Moji where 86 more joined. At Yokohama 14 new passengers came in, and from here the steamer sailed with 376, all but 25 of them being Sikhs. The steamer touched the shores of Canada on May 21, but here Baba Gurdit Singh and his companions, were not destined to get a good reception.

A thorough checking of the steamer was made at the Victoria Quarantine Station and the steamer proceeded to Vancouver on May 23. Here the Canadian authorities refused to permit the emigrants to land, on apples that they had failed to comply with the immigration laws of the country. Only a student and a doctor were permitted to land, they having established wrongful contacts with the authorities, against the Baba.

The objection of the authorities, however seemed to be uncalled for, in connection with which, several arguments may be forwarded. Firstly, the Governor-General's Order-in-Council of 1910, had already been found *ultrauires* by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada. Secondly, at least three eminent British lawyers of Hong Kong had given their opinion, that there was nothing illegal in this steamer sailing from that place for Vancouver with the Indian emigrants. Thirdly, a committee of Indian residents of Vancouver with property worth two crores of ruppees, was prepared to guarantee that each emigrant was in possession of 200 Dollars as required. Fourthly. The emirgrants had travelled on through tickets and by direct steamer to Vancouver from their usual country of residence. And fifthly, actually a number of intending emigrants, such as preachers and teachers, were covered by the exceptions mentioned in the Orders-in-Council. Baba Gurdit Singh, however was not permitted to take the case to court, nor was he permitted a contact with some lawyer.[2]

The passengers were kept as prisoners in the steamer for two months, and the authorities showed a complete callousness in refusing provisions and water-supply to the passengers, which included women and children. In the meanwhile, the Japanese Captain of the steamer was directed to weigh anchor atonce and sail for Hong Kong, police being sent to enforce the order, who, however were driven back by the passengers after a determined fight. A naval craft then appeared which threatened to attack. Good sense, however soon prevailed, having sufficient water and provisions for the voyage were permitted, and the ship was forced to leave; Gurdit Singh, in the meanwhile, having been forced to transfer the charter of the ship to two Indians of Vancouver, after the ship's agent had been paid off his dues by the local Indian community. The new charterers, however were not permitted to visit the ship, despite being responsible for all the financial liability.

Disappointed and disgruntled, the steamer left for Hong Kong on July 23, 1914. A gross injustice had been done to them in the name of law and order and they had been denied the fundamental human rights. No wonder, therefore they made some extravagant demands at Yokohama and Kobe, at the latter place they being conceded partly by the Consul. But they were summarily refused a permission to disembark at Hong Kong or some other Chinese port, even though the captain of the ship had been directed by the Canadian authorities to sail back to Hong Kong. The boat was finally forced to leave for Calcutta, and it reached the mouth of the Hugli on September 26.

At Kulpi, a few miles south of Calcutta, the next day, the passengers were met with a number of British and Indian officers of the Governments of the Punjab and Bengal, led by the District Magistrate of 24 Parganas, Mr. Donald. Their secret plan was to have the passengers landed at Budge where a train was waiting to take them to Punjab. At Kulpi itself, the baggage of the passengers was thoroughly examined for arms and seditious literature, to a considerable annoyance and harassment of the passengers. And when on the 29th September, the boat was suddenly stopped at Budge Budge, 14 miles from Calcutta, and a party of the Indian and British officers, including Sir Frederic Holliday, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, got on board, and ordered the passengers premptorily to disembark at

once to proceed to the waiting train for the Punjab, it was a bolt from the blue. The passengers suspected the Government's intentions, and refused to do so. Only some Muslim members among them, boarded the train, the rest, the Sikhs, with the copy of *Guru Granth* in front of them, proceeded on foot in a procession towards Calcutta. A body of the Punjab policemen followed behind.[3]

Baba Gurdit Singh's purpose in doing so was to deposit the holy *Granth* at the Gurdwara at Howrah and then meet the Bengal Governor. Another purpose was to consult a lawyer and settle some points of difference with the agent of the steamer. They also wanted to dispose of the surplus provisions and the furniture on board the Kamagata Maru. Many of the passengers wanted to settle in Calcutta itself and seek some employment than to go to the Punjab where the employment opportunities were scarce. Moreover they suspected the British intentions, and were not very much sure that they would be taken to the Punjab.

The Punjab policemen did not interfere with them. But the procession had scarcely proceeded a distance of five miles, when it was suddenly stopped by a posse of British policemen and some officers who arrived in two motor cars. Baba Gurdit Singh and his associates were ordered to march back to Budge. Hungry, thirsty and tired, kicked and hustled, they began trudging their way back. Reaching back at Budge, the authorities refused to permit them to proceed to the awaiting train, as previously arranged. They wanted to lock them up for the night in the Kamagata Maru itself. They had neither been criminals nor prisoners, and resentful of the government's attitude, a number of them sat down at the level crossing near the station and with the holy *Granth* and Baba Gurdit Singh in the centre, they started their evening prayers.

Mr. Donald the District Magistrate of the 24 Parganas, ordered Gurdit Singh to come to him to arrange for his associates to go to the boat, which he refused to do before the prayers had been concluded, and wanted Mr. Donald to come to him instead. The police sergeant who had gone to contact the Baba, hit a Sikh in the congregation, his stick was snatched away. Then the British Superintendent of Police tried to drag the Baba out, to which the Sikhs resisted. Just this time a shot rang out, both parties believing that it had been fired by the

other. Here was the signal for a general melee. Both the sides used their fire-arms, as the Sikhs also possessed some revolvers, which they had been able to keep with them despite the searches and despite the Baba's instructions to the contrary. Soon the British troops also arrived from Calcutta, who fired 177 rounds of 303 bore from a close range.

In this melee, two British officers and two members of the Indian police lost their lives. Among the Sikhs 20 were officially reported to have been killed. The rest of the Kamagata Maru passengers scattered in various directions under the cover of darkness, but all the important roads and the railway track having been heavily guarded by the police, 211 of them were arrested. Baba Gurdit Singh, together with 28 others, escaped. Sixty-two of them were sent under Police escort by rail to the Punjab, thus accounting for the 321 who had arrived at the Budge.

To complete the story, Baba Gurdit Singh, as he wrote in his book 'the Voyage of Kamagata Maru.' After seven years of his wandering in disguise, surrendered to the police at Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak, under the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. The Baba was consigned to prison without a trial, and released after about a year. Shortly after, however he was again put behind the bars for having delivered a seditious speech at the Durbar Sahib, Amritsar. He was released only in 1927 to find that all his property and belongings had been confiscated. He was completely ruined. Of the others who were arrested, all except 31 were released.

Activities of others

In the meanwhile, the activities of the Ghadarites in the United States went apace. Bopp, Brincken and Papen of the German Embassy cattered to their needs, and tore of the propaganda leaflets issued by the party urging the Indian troops to desert the English and join the Germans were thrown behind the trenches in Mseopotamia and France. Two ships "Annie Larson" and "Maverick" full of guns, ammrition and other war materials for the use of Ghadr members were also fitted out in America and it was decided to smuggle the goods through some isolated port in India. The party also bought an aeroplane and trained its members as pilots.

Besides the Kamagata Maru; which consisted of persons inspired on the Ghadarite line, waves of revolutionists came from America,

Canada, Panama, Hong-Kong, Singapur, Siam and Burma. Shiploads of them arrived at Calcutta, Madras and Colombo. On 28th October, the Japanese S.S. Taru Maru arrived at Calcutta with 173, mostly Sikhs from America, Japan, Manila Shanghai, consisting of mane Ghadr leaders, allotted separate circles form their activities in the Punjab. The Punjab government again despatched a strong force of Punjabi policemen under the British and Indian officers. All the passengers were interned in Central jails of Montgomery and Multan, and only 73, supposed to be less dangerous, six were hanged for subsequent Ghadr outrages, 6 were transported for life, 6 were re-arrested and interned and two became informers. And this shows what violent programme those not released might have brought in the country?

In the meanwhile, from October 1914, thousands of more Sikhs arrived from abroad, who after an enquiry, were divided into three categories. (1) Those who were considered to be a really dangerous character and who were interned in jails. (2) Those who were of less dangerous character and whose movements were restricted to their own villages and (3) Those who were discharged after a warning. Out of the 8,000 who entered the Province during the first-two years of the war, some 400 were thus interned in jails, 2500 were restricted to their villages and the remaining were discharged.

Scores of the Ghadarites, however slipped through enquiries under the Ingress Ordinance and contacted the local revolutionary leaders. The persons such as Kartar Singh Saraba, N.G. Pingle, Pandit Jagat Ram, Kanshi Ram, Prithvi Singh, Jagat Singh and many others successfully infiltrated into the military cantonments and persuaded the army units to revolt at the appropriate time. Their propaganda in the army was successful at Rawalpindi, Lahore, Ferozepur, Lucknow, Faizabad, Cawnpur, Allahabad and Jubbolpur. From October 1914 to September 1915 a series of explosions took place in the Central Punjab and attempts were made to seize the arsenal at Ferozepur. About this time it was that Rash Bihari moved into the Punjab and took general charge of the operations. He together with N.G. Pingle became the brain of the movement and Bhai Parma Nand, a Professor in the Arya Samaj College became a link between the disaffected section of the Hindu Intelligentsia and the Sikhs of the Ghadr Party.

Everything was working according to schedule. Rash Bihari and Pingle had their headquarters at Amritsar, and they were active in inciting the Indian troops, especially the Sikhs and Rajputs posted in the Northern India. They planned for a general uprising on February 21, 1915. But unfortunately their plans leaked out. They changed their head quarters of Lahore and decided for the uprising to be on 19th February instead. The government however struck in time, 4 separate houses were raided in Lahore 13 persons were captured with all their papers plans and bombs, etc., but Rash Bihari and Pingle escaped. At other palaces and cantonments, timely measures were taken. The "annie Larson" and the "Maverick" failed to make contacts and were captured. A few weeks later, Pingle was also arrested in lines of the 12th cavalry at Meerut, with a collection of bombs, sufficient to blow up a regiment.

Legal proceedings were undertaken against the revolutionists, which culminated in the following famous cases: 3 Lahore Conspiracy cases; the Shimla Conspiracy Case; Benares Conspiracy Case; the trial of Sergeant Harnam Singh at Faizabad; the Delhi Conspiracy Case; the trial of those arrested at Budge Budge; Ferozepur Conspiracy Case; Meerut, Barisal and Burma trial; the trials at Shanghai and Singapur.

Pingle and Parma Nand were sentenced to death. Pingle was hanged but Parma Nand's sentence was commuted to life transportation by the Viceroy and was later released. In brief, 175 accused in Ghadr conspiracy were brought before Special Tribunals. Of these 136 were convicted of offences nearly all punishable with death; 38 were sentenced to death, but in 18 cases the sentences were commuted to life transportation, and 20 were actually hanged. Fifty-eight were transported for life and 58 were transported or imprisoned for shorter periods. In 115 cases forfeiture of property was ordered but in most of them it was remitted by the Local Government. Those who were interned, were later released on security and by the end of the war, only some half a dozen were still detained.

The government took several other measures to crush the movement. The old policy of "divide and rule" was used. "With the assassination of Ram Chandra by a Sikh Ghadr agent for treachery and fund manipulation, the Hindus were encouraged and cajoled to leave the party. Similarly Dr. Syed Hussain and Shaukat Ali toured

the State and started a Moslem League to weasn away the Mohammedans. Some prominent Sikh members were also deceived in heading a dissident movement....

"Charges were also levelled that the party was operating as a smuggling ring through Maxico and was at the back of frequent Hindu murders." The U.S. Immigration Service and the British Consulate selected Indian informers on such activities, though many of them, as Nagina Ram, Sant Ram Pande, Nana Lal, Nathu Ram and Sheru Ram in the United States, and Hopkinson, an exofficial of the Indian C.I.D. were got killed by the Party.[4]

In the badly effected districts of the Punjab, committees of the local Sikh magnates were established, who helped the Deputy Commissioners in enquiring into the conduct of the emigrants and helped in controling them. This naturally led to the assassination of many of the loyal magnates. In June 1915, for instance Achar Singh of Amritsar met the same fate. In most of such cases, the murderers were captured and punished.

The Communist Infiltration

The attempt at a revolt in the Punjab having failed, the surviving Ghadr leaders returned to the United States to take a reappraisal of the situation. Under the pressure of the British Government, a case was filed here against 31 Indians on charges of violating the neutrality laws of that country. Many Indians alongwith several German agents were thus sentenced to varying imprisonments. In the San Quentin Prison, Bhai Santokh Singh, a prominent member of the inner committee of the party, came into contact with a Russian agent, who pursuaded him to align his party with the International Communism. After his release, Santokh Singh convinced some of his colleagues and was deputed alongwith Bhai Rattan Singh to go to Moscow where they entered into the alliance. Santokh Singh returned to India and started a communist weekly called "Kirti" and Rattan Singh returned to the United States to report about the alliance. The communists thus infiltrated into the party and the leaders of the Ghadr Party in California frankly admitted that since Russia was working to free India it was only natural that these two movements should join hands. But this alliance "was known only to very few of the 'inner' members of the party."

The activities of the Party continued unabated, outside India. The Ghadr influence it was, which resulted in the Sikh and the Mahommedan troops refusing to fire on the Chinese at Shameen. The contacts were resumed with Germany and Japan during the Second World War.

With the attainment of India's independence in 1947 the Ghadr Headquarters became a "scene of acrimonious debate." "Communist agents in persons and by letter, insisted that the relationship be continued, that India was far from free, that more and large sums be raised." However the Ghadr leaders in California were convinced that the aim for which the party was founded had been realized and that any further connection with the communist movement would land them into trouble with the American government. Besides, the members were tired and weary of the long struggle and voted to disband the party. Consequently in the early part of 1948 the building and the other assets of the party were turned over to the Indian government through Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Indian ambassador to the United States. The title was completely transferred to the Indian government in 1952 and it was announced that the building would be kept "either as a residence for government representatives or as a cultural centre."[5]

Thus ended the efforts of the simple and in most cases uneducated people entirely in the foreign surroundings, to contribute their little bit in the India's fight for independence. The Indian Ghadr Party represents a chapter of violence in India's history, and hundreds of those who sacrificed their lives, homes and hearth, will remain ever a source of inspiration to generations for come.

The Out-breaks of 1919

"In the hour of England's peril," thus wrote Pearay Mohan in his book 'An Account of the Punjab Disorders and the Working of Martial Law': "India rushed to her help with unfailing faith and loyal enthusiasm. The voice of controversy was hushed and the grievances which the people had against the government, were laid aside." Or as Lord Hardinge said, India allowed herself [redacted] be "bledwhite," and contributed freely in men and money. And in this, the Punjab did more than any other Province in India could do.

About one million men were sent over-sea by India to fight battles of the British Empire, and up to 31st March 1919, £127.8m. had been incurred by India as her share towards the war expenses. Out of the former, the Punjab contributed as much as 60 per cent of the total, and in her contributions towards the war expenses, the Punjab competed successfully with the richer Provinces of India. Everything was done to raise recruits in the Punjab, as sir M.O' Dwyer wrote:

"Checking the crazy ones,
Coaxing on aisy ones,
Lifting the lazy ones on—with Moral suasion."

And when the Home Government asked for 21,000 combatant recruits in the last four months of the year 1914, 28,000 were raised, of whom 14,000 came from the Punjab, 3,000 from Nepal, 3,000 from the Frontier and trans-Frontier, and 8,000 from the rest of India.

In 1915, 93,000 combatants were enrolled, of whom 46,000 were from the Punjab, 14,000 from Nepal, 6,000 from the Pathan areas, and 28,000 from the rest of India. The first-two and one-third years of the war had brought to the colours about one hundred and twenty thousand Punjabis, "the cream of the fighting races,"[6] and their number increased as the war prolonged.

The "Legislative Council of the Punjab at its first meeting after war was declared, unanimously passed a resolution assuring the King Emperor of the devotion of the people of the Province and of their determination to serve His Majesty, in every form in which their help might be required, against the enemies of his Empire. The council was composed mainly of elected or nominated representatives of the Mohammedan, Hindu and Sikh communities and the resolution gave expression to the feeling of active loyalty that inspired the Province as a whole."[7]

The sacrifices made by Amritsar in the war, were greater than those made by Lahore, so much so that in a speech at Kasur, Sir M.O' Dwyer, the Lieutenat Governor of the Punjab solemly declared that he would transfer the seat of government from Lahore to Amritsar as a reward for the great war services of the latter and as a punishment to the former for its slackness in providing recruits.

From Loyalty to Rebellion

But soon the picture changed. From loyalty the Punjab changed in 1919 to a scene of rebellion, and the city of Amritsar, of which Sir Dwyer was so proud, was the first to come in the field. Different theories were assigned to these out-breaks in the Punjab some of which being supported by Sir Dwyer himself.

In the beginning it was believed that there was a huge conspiracy to sebvert the British Government in India and to seduce the Indian army. The conspiracy was supposed to be financed by Bolshevic money, the ramification of which had enveloped the whole country. The Punjab being the home of warriors, the conspiracy was more active here than in any other Province of the country. As, however no evidence could be forwarded for the Bolshevic origin of the out-breaks, the theory failed.

Later on Afghan agency was substituted for the Golshevic hand, but this theory too failed for want of any evidence. After this, Gandhiji was blamed as being the chief conspirator, who wanted to overawe the government by criminal means, and secure the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. An order of his externment from the Punjab was passed by the Lieutenant of Governor Punjab, who was informed by a Hindu friend that "Gandhi had been heard to say that the British were now full of pride in their victory and considered themselves the masters of the world; but that he was master of a weapon which would soon bring them to their knees. That, of course, was his policy of Passive Resistance." The Hindu friend told him "to be on the look out for Gandhi's next move."[3] But this theory too failed.

Then some local conspirators were blamed, who agitated locally, though not on provincial basis, but whose agitation developed a provincial character. The persons blamed were those such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Lal Duni Chand, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal, Mr. Labh Singh and Diwan Mangal Sen. But this view too failed as a result of the cross-examination of Lord Hunter's Enquiry Committee. And as a result of all this, the theory of conspiracy was given up as a whole, in disgust.

The Real Cause

The most widely accepted view, as also supported by the Government of India's resolution of April 14, 1919, was that the agitation against the Rowlatt Act was directly responsible for these disturbances. The real cause, however seems to be that the very atmosphere which existed at the time was explosive, and the agitation against the Rowlatt Act it was, which set it afire. And there were several factors which made the atmosphere explosive.

Excessive recruitments had been made for the Indian army in the Punjab. The Punjab, as we have studied, supplied as much as 60 per cent of the total number of recruits raised whole over the country. And this means that out of twenty millions of its population as recorded in the Census of 1911, which was 1/15 of the total population of the country, the Punjab supplied during the war as many as 4,60,000 of her best men to fight the British wars. The Secretary of State himself admitted once that "many a family was left without its bread-winner or bread winners." The Punjabis had fought for no national cause. The chains of slavery seem rather to have been strengthened. And as Sir O' Dwyer himself admitted on April 7, 1919, this had "led to some serious riots and lawless out-breaks in the Multan Division and in Shahpur."

The methods adopted for recruitments in the Punjab under the ruthless regime of Sir O' Dwyer, too, were objectionable. To win a distinction in the supply of soldiers, Sir O' Dwyer assigned a quota to each district in the Punjab, and it was understood to be compulsory for the district authorities to supply the required number of recruits. Promotion of officers depended indeed on the number of recruits furnished. Police got false cases against the villages which failed in furnishing the assigned quotas. And the recruits in the Punjab became indeed an economic commodity to be bought and sold by those who were aspirant of honours and rewards, and who made thus an extensive transactions in the trade. These things were not loved by those who loved liberty and nationalism.

The Europeans in India were looked-upon as superhumans. But when the Indian soldiers in Europe saw them lame, blind and beggars as well, the spell was broken. Many Indian soldiers had been acclaimed and received as saviours in France by men and women alike. But when

they came back to their country, they had to face the same old *'lot sahib,'* as proud and arrogant as ever he was.

In the collection of war loans considerable severity had been used. The district revenue officials brought a good deal of pressure on the villagers to subscribe. Though the officers did not compel their subordinates to make their contributions, yet the very suggestions from them had to be complied with if the subordinates wanted to keep their favour. And then, the commonman due to his illiteracy, did not understand the Government's need for loans. To him it was a sure sign of bankruptcy for the so called rich *sircar* to borrow from an ordinary man.

Then there were economic causes. The prices had been rising. Wheat sold in 1912 at 12 seers and 4 chhataks for a rupee, while by 1919, the price rose to 6 seers and 9 chhataks. Maize sold 16 seers and 3 chhataks for a rupee in 1912, while by 1919 the price rose to 6 seers and 6 chhataks. As compared to this more than cent per cent rise in the prices, the rise in wages was only 50 per cent.

And further, the excessive recruitment of soldiers drained the land of its working hands, and the produce peracre declined. The foreign imports were dearer. Influenza broke out just this time. Monsoons failed. And in fact the Railway employees were just on the verge of a strike when the disorder broke out. "Rebellions of the belly are the worst" as Bacon wrote.

The Punjab had hoped that British victory in the war would bring boons, which it did not. The commonman had bled white, while honours and titles went only to the capitalists and high government officials wellknown for the recruitment of soldiers. Instead of getting freedom after the war, they got only the Rowlatt Act.

Thus the atmosphere was already explosive when the Act was passed. There had been a discontentment in the villages, and an inspiration in the towns too for independence. In such circumstances the Rowlatt Act was passed, which was a law only of barbarism and ruthlessness. Its provisions were so monstrous that no Indian with the slightest spirit of self-respect could bear to put up with it. It was a slur on India's loyalty, so definitely proved during the war, and about which the King Emperor himself had written in a message to the princes and the people of India, that India "had fulfilled my faith in

her single-minded devotion to my person and Empire, and she has vindicated my confidence in her loyalty."

India had no desire to embarass the British Government during the war; and therefore, she had accepted the provisions of the Defence of India Act without demur. But it was more than a year before its expiry that the Rowlatt Act was hurled upon her. The Government of India had enjoyed some emergency powers during the war which they wanted to perpetuate under the Rowlatt Act, under the pretext that some mysterious anarchists existed in the country, who with the foreign help were determined to subvert the Government. Even the persons such as Sir O' Moore Creagh, formerly the Commander-in-Chief of India had denied that there existed any necessity for such a measure.

Provisions of the Rowlatt Act

A brief account may here be given of the different provisions of the Act, to prove its monstrousness. The Act was divided into five parts.

Part I. It applied to the state of things when the Governor-General-in-Council was satisfied that in a part of the country anarchy prevailed and it was expedient for public safety to provide for speedy trials of such offences.

Such trials were to be conducted in tribunals specially instituted for the purpose. There was a safeguard that if judges in a tribunal differed, no death sentence could be awarded to a person being tried. But since such differences can arise only in cases of doubtful guilt, the more illogical part of the Act was that the right to appeal above the tribunal was denied.

The trial was to be held in camera. And this means that no opportunity was given to the public or to the relatives of a person under trial, to understand his case and arrange for his defence.

The height of calumny and maliciousness was that the local governments were authorised to give a retrospective effect to the provisions of this part of the Act.

Part II. The provisions of this part were preventive. If the Governor-General-in-Council was satisfied that such conditions

prevailed under which precautions for the maintenance of law and order were necessary, he declared the application of this Part.

Under the provisions of this part, if a Local Government was satisfied that a particular person was a potential criminal, it could place the papers relating to him before a judicial officer qualified to sit in a High Court. The person concerned, however was not entitled to claim a hearing nor was the Local Government bound to follow the officer's opinion.

After receiving the opinion of the officer, the Local Government could in writing direct the person to give a bond not to commit the scheduled offences. He was to notify a change in his address was to reside in an area specified by the government, and report himself to the nearest police station at stated periods, for the duration of a year. After issuing these orders the Local Government was to forward the case for opinion to an investigating authority consisting of three persons, two of them being above the rank of District or Session Judges, and the third who was not in the service of the Crown.

The enquiry, again, was to be held in camera, in which the person concerned was not entitled to claim presence, there being no provision even for informing him.

This report again, may not be accepted by the Local Government and it may pass the order upon the person for one year more. Thus the punishment could be given to a person even without a proper trial.

Part III. When the conditions referred above were widespread to endanger public safety, this part was to be applied, under which any suspected person could be arrested directly and put into confinement. His house could be searched and then the enquiry under the Part II. was to follow.

The Part IV was more drastic in its provisions and the Part V laid down that "no order under this Act shall be called in question in any court."

The assurance that the Act was to be used only for public safety, proved to be false. And while the government contended that the Act was limited in its application to anarchial and revolutionary crimes; it refused to incorporate in the Act the definition of such a crime, with

the result that the application of the provisions extendend to the extent of absurdity. It is a measure, thus wrote M.A. Jinnah, "admittedly abnoxious and decidely coerciveata time of peace, thereby substituting the excutive authority for the judicial."

The natural result of the measure was protest meetings and resolutions but while in other provinces this might have resulted in disturbances, not a single instance of violence occured in Punjab. The climax was reached on 6th April when at least a million persons took part in protest meetings whole over the province, yet no violence was anywhere used.

But the ruthless regime of O' Dwyer tried to supress the agitation with an iron hand. Dwyer had a particular hatred towards the educated classes, and before the Act was passed he tried gagging the newspapers of the Province, discouraged the independence criticism and isolated the Punjab from the rest of India. The Mahommedans had already been agitated on the fate of Turkey and the Khilaft. There was general atmosphere of discontentment and lack of confidence in the government. And when the people agitated against this Act, he took it as a direct challenge to his ideas of a good Govt. As the agitation and demostrations in peaceful manners grew, Dwyer also grew violent. Freedom of speech in public and the freedom of writing of the persons such as Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal was supreseed. He issued orders prohibiting Gandhi Ji from entering into the Punjab on 4th April, but the order was shown to Gandhi Ji only when he reached Palwal, a small Railway Station on the border of the Punjab. Gandhiji politely refused to obey the order, was arrested and taken to Bombay. This happened on 9th April, and when its news reached Lahore on the 10th, the people were stunned. A thorough *hartal* was organised throughout the town in half an hour, and a mob collected to protest against this action of the government. But they were fired upon and dispersed.

This was a signal for disturbances whole over the Punjab. On the same date as a mob was fired upon at Lahore, a mob rose in Amritsar and endeavoured to force its way into the Civil Station where the British officials and non-officials resided, and was held up by the small British picquets on the bridge over the railway which connected the City with the Civil Station. The *havoc* and destruction which this mob brought about is too wellknown to be repeated here. There is no

doubt that several people in a fit of fury lost the balance of their mind. Government property worth millions of rupees was destroyed. Some Europeans were butchered and their property put to fire. Similar disturbances occured at Kasur and other places. But the retaliation of the alien government was yet more brutal.

"If your house is on fire and you call in the fire-engines," said Mr. Joseph, an official member of the Punjab Legislative Council in 1921, "and the fire-engines pump water into the house so fast and furiousy that they ruin all your furniture, all your carpets; it is no use after wards to discuss how many buckets full of water might have been sufficient to extinguish the conflagration." But this was no good argument.

As the agitation continued, on 13th April, 1919, the people from all the parts of the Province collected in the Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar. On the previous, day the inhabitants of the city had been warned not to hold meetings, but they, according to the notorious Brigadier-General Dyer, did not pay any heed to it. In his own words: "On 13th April at 16 hours I received a report from the police that a gathering was beginning in the place mentioned above. I immediately sent picquets to hold various gates of the city (to prevent a renewal of the attack of the 10th on the British quarters) and marched with 25 Rifles 9th Gurkhas, and 25 Rifles from detachments of 54 Sikhs F.F. and 59 Rifles F.F., making a total of 50 Rifles, and also 40 Gurkhas armed with *Kukris*. I entered the Jallianwala Bagh by a very narrow lane which necessitated leaving my armoured car behind. On entering I saw a dense crowd, estimated at about 5,000 (those present put it at 15,000 to 20,000); a man on a raised platform addressing the audience and making gesticulations with his hands.

"I realised that my force was small and to hesitate might induce attack. I immediately opened fire and dispersed the mob. I estimate that between 200 and 300 of the crowd were killed. My party fired 1650 rounds."[9]

This is an under-estimation of the number thus killed. And besides, the number of those who were injuired, is too high to make a mention. Blood of the hundreds of the Punjab's heroes who were fired at on the day, still runs in the fibres of the plants which grow in the Bagh, and tells us the story of woes and sacrifices of the illustrious

sons of the Punjab who fought for India's independence and laid down their lives.

But this was not the end of the alien retaliation. On 14th, April, a mob was bombed from aeroplane and fired at by machineguns at Gujranwala Outbreaks in Gujranwala, Gujrat, Lyallpur, Gurdaspur and other places in the province were ruthlessly crushed. Martial Law was in proclaimed Amritsar and Lahore on the 15th, regarding the atrocities of which, much had been said and written. The view of the Hunter Committee on this point may be quoted.

"As regards martial law and orders and cases arising out of the breach, thereof we think it unfortunate that, in several important aspects, martial law assumed as intensive a form as it did.....Some of the orders issued were injudicious. They served no good purpose and were not, in our opinion, drawn with sufficient tact to prevent undue annoyance to the civil population."

They then refer to:

1. General Dyer's "crawling" order (which no one attempted to defend)
2. General Campbell's "slaaming" order, prescribing that the people of Gujranwala should accord to British officers, "wherever met, the salutation usually accorded to Indian gentlemen of high social position in accordance with the customs of India."
3. Colonel Frank Johnson's orders directing that the students of four, out of ten, Colleges ■ Lahore which had been implicated in the disturbances should attend roll-calls four times a day to deep them away from spreading sedition.
4. The order of the same officer arresting and interning in the Fort for twenty-four hours from fifty to one hundred students of a College where the martial law orders had been torn down.
5. Public floggings at Lahore and the excessive number of floggings generally.
6. "Fancy" punishments by Captain Doveton at Kasur, *e.g.* making convicted men touch the ground with their forehead and skipping, in lieu of the ordinary but more severe punishments—such as whipping, fine, and imprisonment.[10]

The Indemnity

But still more interesting was the fact that after having butchered those who were said to be taking a more active part and after having punished through courts those who were said to have been taking less active part in the movement, an Indemnity for the damage in the city of Amritsar was imposed on those who were taking no part at all. The estimated assessment was Rs. 20,56,000. The charge for police Rs. 1,43,000 and the remainder for the compensation of those who lost their property. The Amritsar municipality was to recover it by taking temporarily certain higher rates of terminal taxes and by imposing higher rates on the sale of immovable property. The compensation was assessed by the District Magistrate under Section 15-A (2) (c) of the Police Act and was subject to the revision of the Commissioner of the Division or the Local Government Similarly the cost of additional police was assessable by the District Magistrate under Section 15 (4) of the Police Act.

The voice which was raised against this action of government in the Punjab Lagislative Council and the account in the Legislative Council Report of the scenes created by the discussion on the subject among the opponents is a thing worth studying.

On 24th February, 1921, Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath moved in the Legislative Council the following resolution.

"The this council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council that the sum imposed in connection with the disturbances of April 1919 on the inhabitants of the city of Amritsar as indemnity for the loss of and for the additional police be remmitted, and that the money advanced by government, to the Amritsar Municipality to meet the liabilities incurred on this account be debited to the accumulated balance of previous year in the provincial revenues" and following were his arguments:

Disturbances occurred in the Punjab in 1919 and certain areas were declared as disturbed and dangerous areas under Section 15 of the Police Act. This was after the event had taken place.

The sections of the Police Act applicable to the cases were Section 15, 15-A and Section 16. Section 15 authorised the Local Government to proclaim a certain area to be in a disturbed and

dangerous state. It was then lawful to burden the area with additional police. Then came Section 15-A which authorised government through the District Magistrate to call for application for compensation in respect of injuries inflicted during disturbance. Section 16 authorised the recovery of the amount. Now Section 15-A read:

"If in any area in regard to which any proclamation notified under the preceding section is in force, death or grievous hurt, or loss or damage to property has been caused and so on."

The words, it is to be noted, were not 'has been issued' the words were 'is in force.'

Besides Section 15 came before Section 15-A. Sir Antony Mac Donall who was incharge of the Bill in 1895, while presenting the report of the Select Committee had made these remarks.

"The Bill differs from the existing law on the following points. The notification proclaiming the area may be prior to, and not simultaneons with, the order to quarter additional police. Further, as a general rule no doubt action will follow without delay on the issue of proclamation, but there may be cases in which the mere issue of proclamation will bring the contending parties to due sense of their responsibility and perhaps by forcing them to compose their quarrel obviate the necessity of any further precautionary measure."

Thus the object of proclamation was to give warning first and if simultaneously the other section was enforced the condition remained unfulfilled.

Now for recovery of amount, he asserted, Section 16 did not say the Municipal Committee should be entrusted with the duty of realizing the tax. He comprehended that government thinking it was unpopular to recover amount direct, threw that burden on Municipal Committee. But the latter had no such power. Their resolution which the municipality passed undertaking the recovery, did not bind them. Besides there were complains that the assessment was excessive and in some cases it was in respect of such injuries which did not fall within the purview of Section 15-A.

Besides a correspondent of the "Tribune" had forwarded another argument saying the civil jurisdiction in Amritsar City had ceased when the proclamation was issued. The city was under military authority

and not under the Punjab Government. Therefore, the Punjab Government had not the power either to issue the proclamation or to call for applications for compensation under Section 15-A. So much for the legal aspect of the case.

There were other political aspects involved. There was difference of opinion among Indians and Europeans regarding the location of responsibility and it was quite observable that Indian opinion was gaining ground and the official opinion was coming round. According to the Indian opinion, the 1919 trouble was of an ordinary type but government excited them by immediate repressive measures.

Further only a small section of the people was responsible for that ordinary disturbance but indemnity was being imposed upon so many of them who were innocent. Public opinion in the Punjab was rising against the assessment. Advanced politicians were already out of the Council, due to non-co-operation and the Diwan appealed to the members, therefore to give the matter deep consideration.

Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz, supporting the resolution asserted in his own way that, the disturbance took place on the 10th of April, *i.e.* 3 days subsequent to the injuries, caused to the Europeans, and under the provisions the proclamation had no retrospective effect on those incidents which were caused on the 10th.

Moreover the compensation paid to many Europeans and the bank, he added, had been excessive and he understood that the National Bank of India, and the Alliance Bank had made the best bargain.

The Duke of Connaught had already remitted the indemnity imposed on the town of Ahmedabad, and he submitted that it would be proper for the Council to pass that resolution.

Mr. K.L. Rallia Ram supporting the resolution maintained that money should be remitted, but out of the accumulated balances, or some other source which might be found. After giving the present reforms (in 1919) and privileges to the public it would be bad to revive the old bitter memories.

But Pandit Daulat Ram Kalia had another point to forward. Even if admitting that it was legal to charge Amritsar people of the indemnity, because of the foot prints of their went to a village and the thief was not found, the whole village had to pay the price, he said, in

December 1919 the King issued a proclamation inviting the ruler and the ruled to forget the past. And since the Bar Association of Amritsar had sent an appeal to the members of the Council for remittance in spite of the instruction from Congress not to co-operate with and get the services of the Council members, the encouragement of the Bar Association members should be appreciated and indemnity remitted. But he did not agree that the indemnity should be paid out of the Provincial Balance.

Khan Sahib Chaudhri Fazal Ali said, the government might remit the indemnity but why should it be paid out of the accumulated balances and thus Zamindars be made to pay for the misdoings of the Amritsar Public.

Indemnity was illegal and to pay it from the provincial balance was also to make the progressive work of the whole province suffer. it should, therefore be refused by the persons to whom it was paid without the assent of the Council, or it should be paid as resolved by Diwan Bahadur Raja Narendra Nath, first, from the accumulated funds, and subsequently money be realized from the Government Nazul land within the municipal limits of the Amritsar Municipality, said Sayad Muhamad Hussain.

Sardar Bakhtawar Singh speaking next said the interest of Rs. one crore that the government had, should be raised from 3½ to 6% and this would realize the amount in eight years

But to Khan Bahadur Sayad Mehdi Shah these arguments were not acceptable. If Amritsar which had committed the crime did not pay the indemnity they would not learn a lesson. If indemnity was paid out of Provincial Balance the innocent Zamindars would suffer for what the Amritsar people had done? Money of the Provincial Balance was to be spent for roads and hospitals and moreover why Zamindars should be made to carry the burden, he posed forcefully?

Mr. P.J. Fagan had his own arguments to forward. It was not proper he said, to blame government for the responsibility of the disturbances, the government was faced with a movement of the most sinister and of the most menacing type.

Was the Province to understand that its reformed legislative Council was prepared to condone doings such as these of Amritsar?

Was the entire Province to suffer for this misdoings of a few? Where the doings of Amritsar to deprive the women of the Province of an institution destined to alleviat their sufferings? Was the beneficent work of co-operative societies to be similarly hampered? Or was the Provision of a suitable building for the highest court of the Province to be arrested?

Malik Feroz Kahn Noon was also one of the opponents of the resolution. For two days a heated discussion was carried on the subject. Various points were forwarded for and against the resolution the detailed study of which would be too large to include in this article. After a thorough discussion, it was on 25th February 1921, that the resolution was put to vote, the results of which were, 56 for the resolution and 13 against. Thus the resolution was passed by a majority of 43. This was a victory not only for the 56 members who voted for the resolution it was rather a victory of the whole cause the cause of the freedom of the Indian masses. The people had awakened, they had started marching on the long road to freedom, the end of which was yet one quarter of a century off.

The Akali Movement

According to Sikh traditions men of the highest moral character should hold charge of 'Gurdwaras.' Sikh history is replete with the names of men like Bhai Mani Singh who preferred martyrdom, by being cut to pieces rather than pay his fine out of the funds of the community, he being at the time the high priest of the Golden Temple at Amritsar. On the advent of the British Government, however the word 'possession' acquired different meaning. No distinction was made between possession as owners and possession as servants. The result was that the incumbents began to exert personal rights. The protests of the Sikh were of no avail, in the face of the British theory of possession. If they persisted in their demands, the government arranged matters by assuming the power of appointing managers, as in the case of the Golden Temple and the connected Gurdwaras. Managers and 'mahants' began to look upon the government for protection and support against their masters and the richer and larger institutions became virtually department of government or at any rate dependents on the government.

The *Mahants* started the practice of nominating their relations or favourites as their successors, regardless of their character or fitness for the post. 'Gurdwara' income increased due to Canal irrigation and increased offering The *'Mahant'* became more and more depraved. 'Gurdwaras' became dens of Sin. The *Mahants* kept mistresses whom they provided with millions worth of property out of 'gurdwara' funds.

In every country charitable endowments form an integral part of the social system and, therefore government is believed to be the trustee of those endowments—to see that the object for which those endowments have been created are fulfilled and that those who are placed incharge of those trusts carry out the objects for which those trusts were created. So for as India is concerned, there were a number of legislative measures on the Statute Book, some of them dating very far back. On was Regulation XIX of 1810 of the Bengal Code Unrepealed Acts. The second was Regulation VII of 1817; third, Act XX of 1863; fourth Act VI of 1890, fifth the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code; and Sixth, Act XIV of 1920 relating to charitable societies. Now, the first-two of these legislative measures did not apply to the Punjab. So for as Act XX of 1863 was concerned, though applicable to the Province, it could be left out of account, as there were no religious endowments which fell under its provisions. Act VI of 1890 had not been made much use of. Provisions of the Civil Procedure Code were thus the only ones under which religious and charitable endowments in this Province could be controlled by their beneficiaries. Under Act XIX of 1920, certain facilities had been afforded to the beneficiaries to control the management, but they did not go far enough; so the result was that in the Province such legislative measures as existed enabling the beneficiaries to control the management of trusts by the trustees, were enabling provisions, which the public at large could not effectively use. For instance take the case of a particular *mahant* of a Gurdwara, who was using the trust funds for purposes other than those for which they were intended. Now the law as it, stood made it obligatory on two, three or more beneficiaries of that trust to join together and go to the Deputy Commissioner and obtain permission from him to sue the *mahant*. That needed money and time before they could prosecute their petition; and then the Deputy Commissioner might or might not grant permission. Then again they

had to spend money on court-fees before they could put in their claim. Public spirited Sikhs could not always resolve these difficulties and thus the management of Gurdwaras was deteriorating. It is clear that the existing law on the subject which really consisted of the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code, was not the ready remedy that was needed. Need of the time was that there should be more a summary and less expensive remedy which this law was not.

Nor was it realised that the Sikh Gurdwaras were very much on different footing from ordinary religious and charitable endowments. Sikhs have charitable endowments as Hindus and Mahommedans have. But a Gurdwara, which means the place of Guru, had a different application. If there is mis-management of Gurdwaras, Sikhs must go there and improve it, they cannot wait and cannot have another Gurdwara in its place as in the case of other endowments. In the case of a Gurdwara, possession is not to be looked in the same light as other secular property or as in the case of religious endowments. If a few Sikhs wants to go to a Gurdwara and remain there, they cannot be prevented from it. Thus the Sikhs could easily wait for the settlement of Dharamshalas like Hindus, but it was difficult to do so in the case of Gurdwaras. They looked and looked invain to government for help. But when it was not forthcoming, they had their own way, though not perfectly legal. Deseprate maladies always require desperate remedies.

There were other causes for the organisation of the movement. After the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, to cut a road through the Rikab Ganj Gurdwara to the Viceregal Lodge at Delhi, the Government acquired some land from the accomodating priest of the Gurdwara and pulled down one of its walls for the purpose. This aroused the resentment of the Sikhs against the government yet further. But due to the war, the issue was shelved for sometime.

The Sikhs had taken a major part in the Ghadr Movement. They had made sacrifices in the cases such as that of the Kamagata Maru, and were responsible for engineering local troubles in the Punjab. In all such cases, the *Mahants* supported the British in the Gurdwaras, and condemned the Sikh activities.

The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy spoiled the atmosphere yet further. Hundreds had been left there dead or dying and Mr. Winston Churchill

himself had agreed that, that was "an extraordinary event, a monstrous event, an event which stood in singular and sinister isolation." Yet instead of condemning Dyer, the man who had perpetrated such a horrible crime, the *Mahants* rather honoured him at the Golden Temple as a defender of the Sikh faith although more than 1/3 of those thus murdered by him were the Sikhs themselves. It was ■ height of the *Mahants'* depravity and their moral perversion, especially so when Dyer's action had been condemned as a naked brutality whole over the world, and by his kins-folk in England themselves.

The Sikhs had contributed in the War, according to the estimate of Sir John Maynard, ten times more than what any other community in India did? Enjoying a special position as landowners, they paid as much as 40 per cent of the total Provincial Revenne. Yet in the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, they got a representation only in proportion to their population. The Muslims, where in minority, had been given a special weightage, but no such consideration was given to the Sikhs. The Sikhs were thus convinced that the British Government would give them no help in the Gurdwaras.

In 1919, the Indians National Conference met at Amritsar. Just this time, Mahatma Gandhi launched a mass civil disobedience. The Muslims joined him for the British treatment towards Turkey after the war. The Sikhs too had their grievances. And they joined the Mahatma. In a meeting held in October 1920, and attended by Mahatma Gandhi, a resolution of non-co-operation with the government was passed. And this set the ball rolling. The meeting was attended among others by Master Tara Singh, Mehtab Singh, Harbans Singh of Attari and Kharak Singh.

It was in 1919 that considerable dissatisfaction was expressed with the management of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, and its manager was vehemently criticised. The appointment of a Sarbarah in 1920 did little to allay the agitation, as the demand was for complete control to be placed in the hands of the Sikh community. In September 1920 there was a movement in favour of raising a body of Sikh martyrs to repair the wall of the Rikabganj Gurdwara at Delhi. In October, 1920 the management of the Takht Akal Bunga at Golden Temple was bitterly criticised. and on the 28th October 1920, a Jatha of the Central Majha Diwan took possession of a part of the 'langar' of the Golden Temple.

It was now decided that the Sikhs should have a representative committee to manage all the Sikh Gurdwaras. Invitations were sent by the Jathedar of Akal Takhat to the four Takhats, the Gurdwaras, Schools, Colleges, the Sikhs in the Army and other Sikh organisations, to send their representatives to meet in a conference at Amritsar. The conference was held on 15th and 16th of November, 1920, and a committee of 175 representatives was appointed to manage and administer all the Sikh Gurdwaras according to the dictate of the Sikh religion and the principles of the *Panthic* organisation. The 26 members of the committee appointed by the government to manage Shri Darbar Sahib, Taran Taran and some other Gurdwaras, were also included in this committee, which was named as the Shromni Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

In its meeting of December 12, 1920, the committee thus formed, elected Sunder Singh Majitha as its President. Harbans Singh Attari was elected as Vice-President and Sunder Singh Ramgarhia as Secretary.

On December 14, 1920, a movement named Shromni Akali Dal was organised to work for the reforms in the Gurdwaras, under the directions of the Shromni Committee. As the time passed, however the Dal began to take interest in the political problems of the Sikhs as well, and later on it became their main political party. It was this party which sent *Jathas* to the different Gurdwaras, captured them and handed them over to the Shromni Committee for management.

In 1920, a Gurmukhi paper 'The Akali,' was started, following by 'the Khalsa Advocate,' 'the Khalsa Sewak Punjab' and 'The Panth Sewak.' On behalf of the mahants and Pujaris, the parties in possession, it was alleged, that the Akali *Jathas* had by show of force, even armed force established a reign of terror, thus making *the mahants* and Pujaris either to surrender possession or to make terms. Whenever, a Mahant had not submitted to the Akali *Jathas* it is alleged that he came to grief. In the month of November the Akali *Jatha* seized Panja Sahib shrine at Hassan Abdal. In December the Sacha Sauda Gurdwara of Sheikhupura District was seized by an Akali Jatha and the Mahant was expelled. In January 1921, the Gurdwara in Chola village in the Amritsar District was seized by a party of Sikhs of the Majha who proceeded to Taran Taran where a riot took place and there

was bloodshed. Long before this, similar incidents had happened at Baba ki-Ber shrine in the Sialkot District and the Gojra Gurdwara in the Lyallpur District. On 31st January 1921, it is said that the Akali Dal of Wachhoha went to Guru-ka-Bagh Gurdwara and settled terms with *mahant* Sunder Das. When these activities of the Akali *Jathas* intensified it was felt that legislation be enacted in order to appease those who were genuinely out for therefrom of their religious institutions. Accordingly on 8th February a communique was issued pointing out that on the Legislative Council assembling necessary steps would be taken to meet all legitimate demands for reform in the law relating to charitable and religious endowments. This, however appears not to have had much effect. On the 11th and 12th February a large party of Akalis went to Khadur Sahib Gurdwara, Amritsar District, and took possession of it, together with some shops and land adjoining it, expelling the *mahant* from the said place. The Jatha was alleged to have demolished an idol in the Gurdwara, worshipped by Hindus. The government realising the situation, issued the following communique—

In view of the recent troubles connected with some of the Sikh shrines in the Punjab, the Government had decided to move the Legislative Council to appoint a Committee to examine the question relating generally and to prepare such legislation as may be necessary to meet the existing situation.

It was felt, however that this announcement was not enough, and as the Council was not to meet till the 23rd of February, it was announced that at the meeting of the legislative Council the following resolution would be moved by Sardar Bahadur Sardar Mehtab Singh:

"(a) That this council moves the local government to appoint a committee of enquiry to consider the existing management and to report on the best method of settling disputes and of regulating the future control of the institution.

(b) That the aforementioned committee will be constituted so as to give adequate representation to all parties concerned.

It was felt that in the interval, *i.e.* before the meeting of the Council at which the above resolution was to be moved, a conference of the Sikhs representing the party of reform and the party in possession of the Gurdwaras and shrines be called to meet at Lahore with the

object of formulating the points at issue between them, where possible settling of their dispute should be gone into by the committee to be appointed in pursuance of Sardar Mehtab Singh's resolution. Unfortunately, this conference did not come off. The *Jatha* party went on organising and maturing plans for taking possession of Gurdwaras, while the party in possession declared conference of their own to be held at Lahore on the 19th and 20th February. Thus neither the conference proposed by government nor the news of the resolution to be moved by Sardar Mehtab Singh in the Legislative Council succeeded in preventing the Jathas and the party in possession from coming in conflict with each other.

It was on the 20th February that a gruesome tragedy occurred at Nankana. It was unparalelled in the history of the Province. An Akali Jatha peacefully went into the Gurdwara and wanted to stay there, and so long as they did not use force, no same person could object to it. No force was ever used by these persons, it is said, but the *mahant* was ready with it. How those people whose only crime was that they wanted to exercise their birth right, were butchered, cut and burnt, under the authority of the Mahant, is a story too wellknown. As far as can be ascertained the number of those killed in Nankana Tragedy was 130. Throughout the province, all communities, Hindus and Mahommedans expressed their sympathy with those who had suffered.

One would have imagined that an incident like that would sober the enthusiasm of the Akali Jatha and that in time of grief like that the activities of the Akali Jatha would abate, but it was not so.

Soon after occurred the clash between the Sikhs and the government on the question of holding the keys of the treasury of the Golden Temple. The government refused to accept the Shromni Committee as a representative body of the Sikhs and took the keys in its own control. The Sikhs were agitated Protest meetings were held and resolutions were passed condemning the Government's action. Some of the Sikh leaders such as Kharak Singh, Mehtab Singh, Bhag Singh, Hari Singh Jullundhri, Gurcharan Singh Pleader, Master Sunder Singh Lyallpuri, Dan Singh, Jaswant Singh, Teja Singh Samundri and Pandit Dina Nath were arrested and punished heavily. But this made

the agitation only more violent. The Congress and the *Khilafat* Committee supported the Sikhs, and ultimately the government had to bow before the Sikhs. The Keys were handed over to the Shromni Committee and the Sikh leaders were released from the jails. When Mahatma Gandhi got this news, he commented that the Sikhs had won "the first decisive battle" against the Government.

As the movement for reforms in the Sikh Gurdwaras developed, the Sikhs made many daring sacrifice in capturing the different Gurdwaras. A special mention may here be made of some of the battles the Sikhs fought against the vested interests and as to how they won them.

The Guru ka Bagh

This Gurdwara, the Guru Ka Bagh, is a famous place of the Sikh religious worship situated at a distance of 13 miles from Amritsar in the Ajnala Tehsil. At the time of the organisation of the Shromni Committee and the Shromni Dal, *Mahant* Dass was incharge of the Gurdwara, and he was said to be a man of very weak character. In January 1921, Darshan Singh Wichhoa was appointed by the Shromni Committee to meet the *Mahant* and ask him to improve his character. In a Sikh congregation at the Guru Ka Bagh on 31st January, the Mahant was asked (1) not to have illicit connection with any woman and to marry one and lead an honest life; (2) to receive baptism and work as a subordinate to the Shromni Committee. The Mahant agreed to do so and later on actually did as was required of him. But the Nankana incidence later encouraged him and he began to show a stiff and characteries attitude once again.

On August 23, 1921, the Shromni Dal sent a *Jatha* under the leadership of Dan Singh to take over the charge of the Gurdwara. Charge of the Gurdwara was taken over by the *Jatha* but the *Mahant* claimed the land attached to the Gurdwara as his personal property, and called in the police. On August 8, five Sikhs went and brought some wood from the *Kikars* in the land, to be used in the community kitchen of the Gurdwara. They were arrested and later fined and committed to imprisonment. This was a challenge to the committee and its authority and a signal for a serious clash between the Sikhs

and the government. The Mahant had already signed his subordination to the committee, and it was wrong for the government to have separated the Gurdwara issue from that of its land.

Soon other *Jathas* were sent to remove wood from the land. The members of these *Jathas* were severely beaten, their hair pulled and they were thrown into ditches. Hundreds of Sikhs thus received severe injuries, as the *Jathas* after *Jathas* went to remove wood from the land. Not few succumbed to their injuries. New hospitals were set up by the committee at Amritsar to treat the wounded Sikhs, and the daily expenditure of the committee on this score alone rose to the figure of Rs. 3,000.

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1. Brother of Sarojni Naidu.
2. See Spokesman of August 18, 1954.
3. See O' Dwyer. 'I knew it," pp. 190-209.
4. Spokesman Weekly of Feb. 9, 1955.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Sir M. O' Dwyer, 'India' as I knew it,' pp. 216-22.
7 *Ibid*, p. 213.
8. M. O' Dwyer, p. 363.
9. Dyers report 'o the Government.
10. See O' Dwyer, pp. 302-03.

2

Lord Amherst and William Bentinck

John Adam and the Press: Lord Amherst Governor-General: first Burmese War: the Barrackpur Mutiny: sack of Bharatpur: Oudh: the Noozeed case: Lord William Bentinck Governor-General: Bird's Land Settlement of the North-West Provinces: charter renewal, 1833: Bentinck, and native States: British travellers in Central Asia: Avitabile: Alexander Burnes.

John Adam's brief sway was remarkable only for his action against the Press. There had been Calcutta English journals since 1780. In Warren Hasting's time they were scurrilously personal, revelling in the wide range of material afforded by a settlement as non-moral as any cinema-crazed community of today. Checks were supplied by duels, assaults on editors, or vigorous executive action, whenever Mrs. Hastings or her friends got too annoyed. In Cornwallis's time the Press was fairly well behaved; no one wanted to libel a Governor-General so respected and so respectworthy. Wellesley and Minto maintained a thorough oversight; and under them.

> 'This dread of the free diffusion of knowledge became a chronic disease,....continually afflicting the members of Government with all sorts of hypochondriacal day-fears and night-mares, in which visions of the Printing Press and the Bible were ever making their flesh to creep, and their hair to stand erect with horror. It was our policy in those days to keep the natives of India in the profoundest possible state of barbarism and darkness, and every attempt to diffuse the light of knowledge among the people, either of our own or the independent states, was vehemently opposed and resented.'[1]

Lord Hastings followed, holding opinions liberal in the extreme and completely contemptuous of misrepresentation; he thought that India should be educated, and the Press left free to say what it liked?

Munro for once was on the illiberal side, considering a free Press incompatible with despotic government.

It must be remembered that the British community in India was below the level of responsibility of even the eighteenth-century public in England. It was not a question of whether seditious lawyers and 'babus' should be allowed to write at large, but of whether every attempt of government to cut down perquisites or economies on administration—and every personal grievance against executive action or merely against some individual—should be open to the imaginative letters of disgruntled anonymity. "Brutus" was, not improbably, a rising member of the Civil Service"[2]—some junior civilian who found the pagoda-tree a little higher than his friends had led him to suspect; and "Cleophas" a liberal-minded major on the general staff,' who remembered better times before these jacobins came to ruin everything. These gentlemen, in Mr. Winston Churchill's admirable phrase, 'stood no nonsense from facts,' and lived in a society which saw no reason why anyone should stand any nonsense from them?

Adam's action, however was stupidly taken on narrowly bureau cratic grounds. The editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, James Silk Buckingham, hadbought out with him a sense of absurdity; and India had increased his natural light-heartedness. Madras had been unfortunate in its governors, with the fine exception of Munro; a gentleman who occupied this position, 'to the regret of the public,'[3] was given an extension of his term. Buckingham announced the news inside a black border, to Adam's exceeding wrath. Government had a fervent partisan, one Bryce, a Church of Scotland minister; Bryce started a rival journal, trouncing Buckingham in a manner which the Supreme Court, appealed to by the trouncee, decided was libellous. When Bryce was consoled with lucrative post of Clerk to the Stationery Department, Buckingham was amused, and said so; he pictured should be pondering sermons. Thereupon Adam, 'one of the old oligarchy of Calcutta—an honest, uncorrupted, good-hearted and very able man, with a mind warped by the chronic condition of bureaucracy, to which he had been so many years condemned,'[4] rose from his desk, and 'smote heavily,' in regulations which took all the pith and manhood out of the journals of the day.' Bucking man's licence to reside in India was cancelled; he was 'deported, ruined, and became for years a

continual running sore in the flesh of the East India Company and British Parliament.' He got into the House of Commons, 1832, and the Company found it wise to allow him a pension of £ 200 a year.

Metcalfe disapproved of Adam's action. But this was the one period when Metcalfe did not matter.

Between the Company and Burma unsatisfactory relations had persisted for over thirty years. When Burma conquered Arakan, 1784, there was an influx of refugees into the Bengal delta, which already swarmed with pirates, mostly Portuguese and Mugs (mixed Bengalis and Arakanese). Burmese troops made no scruples about following them up, and Sir Shore for the sake of peace surrendered their prey on condition that they retired with it. In Wellesley's time there were armed clashes, but he was too occupied with bigger wars to attend to the business. Fugitives continued to pour in, begging piteously not to be sent back; the Burmese continued to chase them in British territory. The Court of Ava informed the Company, in 1817, that if they did not return to their doom' the vagabond Mugs....the Lord of the Seas and Earth would be obliged to reassert his authority over such places as Dacca and Murshidabad—undoubted apanages of the crown of Arakan.'[5] Lord Hastings was the wrong person to address such a menace to. However, 'war did not come until Lord Amhersts' time.[6] It broke out in 1824.

Today it seems strange to read, in the *Life of Henry Lawrence.*[7] That there was 'a panic that the Burmas had taken Chittagong, and were pushing up to Calcutta in their war boats.' But after years of overrunning their neighbours the Burmese were filled with conceit, and had conveyed their good opinion of themselves to others. The encounters between them and the Company's troops, though trivial, had been numerous, and the latter had generally got the worst of them. The Burmese were now checked in Kachar (February, 1824), but their most famous general, Maha Bandula, annihilated a detachment at Ramu in May.[8] The eastern frontier seemed threatened, and Bandula carried a set of golden fetters for the Governor-General. But the British struck from the sea,—occupied Rangoon May, 1825 and proceeded to win victories. It was an absurd war, against an enemy who did much tom-toming, and tattooed his body with ferocious beasts to make himself invulnerable, but also death skilfully in underground pits

behind stockades. It was a cruel war also. The Burmese refused to grant or accept quarter. When they took prisoners—and there were some British reverses, whose repercussions in India were important they executed them, the British frequently coming upon the sight of the hung-up bodies. Maha Bandula, recalled from the Bengal frontier to meet the invaders, was struck by their care of wounded prisoners. Savagery was seen to be not a law of nature; the campaign grew tolerable in consequence. Sickness wrought great mortality, so that both sides were glad when peace was made (Treaty of Yandabo, February, 1826); the British were then getting uncomfortably near the Burmese capital. Maha Bandula, a genuinely remarkable man, though with barbarous methods of instilling courage into his men, had been killed by a rocket a year previously. No one will grudge the Burmese Court its official version of events:[9]

'White strangers of the west fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no preparation, whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise, so that by the time they reached Yandabo their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the king, who in his clemency and generosity sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.'

The large sums of money were an indemnity of one million sterling. Assam, Arakan, and the Tenasserim coast were annexed.

'Exaggerated reports of the strength and ferocity of the Burmese troops.'[10] Had swept through India;

'The peasants on the frontier fled in dismay from their villages; and every idle rumour was magnified so industriously by timid or designing people, that the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty persuaded to refrain from removing their families and property from under the very guns of Fort William.'

It was just such a disquiet as some of us remember on a smaller scale, when the *Emden* was working havoc among Indian shipping and shelling Madras. It brought about at Barrackpur, the Governor-

General's place of residence near Calcutta, another rehearsal of the Great Mutiny. We are told that the sepoys had got above themselves, by reason of 'their pride in the successes that had been achieved in the campaigns against Pindaris and Marathas,'[11] which 'bred a spirit of insubordination, such as perhaps their more observant members noticed from time to time in their European comrades, particularly the officers. Moreover, an attempted invasion of Burma through Arakan was accompanied with pestilence and appalling mortality. The sepoys, high caste men, were furnished with precisely the same grievance that had repeatedly been held to justify mutinous behaviour of Company's officers, a heavy financial loss. Coolies, carriers, drivers, were offered higher pay than the infantry, to induce them to enlist for service which was dreaded; sepoys were told they must continue on the lower rates for which they had contracted. They 'also had a real material grievance owing to the impossibility of obtaining land transport, which had to be provided by the men themselves under the rules then in force,' while the requirements of government had gathered up most of the available beasts.

Vincent Smith remarks: 'As usual, the genuine grievance was made the occasion for raising the cry of religion in danger.'[12] The grievance, at any rate, was seen and admitted by many regimental officers, who tried to help the men from their own pockets. But 'strait-laced officialdom at headquarters was inflexible....The men were under engagement to provide their own carriage, and government declined to relieve them of the responsibility.'[13] The 47th Native infantry refused to move or to ground arms, and remained on the Barrackpur parade-ground,

> 'as described by some who witnessed the scene....dazed by excitement....men not so much bent on mischief as possessed by some fatal infatuation...."with ordered arms in a state of stupid desperation, resolved not to yield, but making no preparation to resist."'[14]

After warning, guns were opened on them, making the parade-ground a shambles. The survivors

> 'fled in all directions, and were instantaneously dispersed. Above 800 muskets and uniforms were found in the adjacent fields and roads. The Court-martial sat immediately. The ringleaders (six) were hanged the next morning. Many hundreds since have been found guilty and

> sentenced to death, but this was commuted to hard labour for fourteen years, on the public roads. Five other ring-leaders were executed afterwards, and one man whom the mutineers regarded as their Commander-in-Chief was hung in chains in front of the lines....All the officers (native) were dismissed the service and their guilt proclaimed at the head of every regiment in their native language....
>
> '....Our situation was awfully alarming. Lord Amherst resolved not to leave the house, and I determined not to quit him. Sarah behaved heroically, and, though ill, declared she would remain, and kept up her spirits, as we all did as well as we could.'[15]

It is generally considered that the episode should be judged retrospectively, through the lens of what happened thirty years later:

'It did not appear that the Sepoys had contemplated active resistance, for though in possession of ball-cartridge, hardly any had loaded their muskets. Sir E. Paget was much blamed for resorting at once to the extremist measure; but the events of 1857, which began at the same station of Barrackpore, throw a truer light on the gravity of the crime of military mutiny.'[16]

'The punishment was just, but the fate of the regiment was unspeakably pathetic....the name of the regiment was effaced from the list of the army....Those who blame the rigour shown in 1824 may, perhaps, ask themselves whether lenity might not have been misconstrued. No one felt more keenly than the Governor-General the pain of the spectacle.'[17]

Though he did not obtrude himself too closely upon it. However, 'nothing cheered and pleased him more than the proof he was hereafter to receive of the return of a better feeling among the soldiers....the 39th Native Infantry and the 60th Native Infantry volunteered services to go anywhere that Government ordered them.'

In 1826 took place the one considerable military action of Lord Amherst's administration inside India. The Bharatpur Raja died, 1825, perhaps without assistance; his nephew murdered the regent and took prisoner the new prince, who was six years old and, but for the swift interposition of Sir David Ochterlony, Commissioner at Delhi, would probably have joined 'the long list of Indian princes born too near a throne to escape death by a poisoned opiate, or the dextrous hand of an athlete.'[18] He was not delivered up when Ochter lony demanded;

the long-desired *casus belli*, aggravated by much vaunting defiance, was furnished against the grim fortress which India believed impregnable. This time the British commander, Lord Combermere, before storming blasted a tremendous breach: his men rushed in through the smoke and terror. The enemy suffered a loss of 8,000, cut off by the cavalry almost to a man; the British casualties were 600. Lord Combermere's enthusiasm for financial gain attracted some comment; Metcalfe observed that while he was ostensibly acting as the young Raja's protector, that child was plundered of even his brass pots. The General awarded himself 6 of the 48 lakh of treasure found, which has been censured by even recent historians as overstepping proper bounds.[19] But to a government generally moving from one triumphant campaign to another, the army had long been all-powerful; experience had proved repeatedly the danger of coming between it and its captures. And we who live on the wrong side of the World War can surely be happy in the spectacle of bygone jollity, of men happy and victorious, women gay and unbothered:

'It may cheer the present generation to hear of past illuminations and rejoicings which are almost like those in a fairy tale, in which everyone is victorious and comes home unharmed. On the king's birthday, April 24, there is a grand entertainment at Government House; Combermere and Bhartpur in lamps on the right, Campbell and Ava in coloured lamps on the left, wreaths round the pillars, George IV in the centre also in lamps, with the appropriate accompaniments of star and crown. In the great ballroom were transparencies representing Lord Combermere leading the young Raja into Bhartpur, followed by his staff while a figure of Victory waved a laurel wreath. Also Sir Archibald Campbell on horseback with his steamer in the background, the Dagon Pagoda, and a nymph-like figure scattering olive branches,—India, Peace, Victory and other appropriate inscriptions were liberally scattered about, and the company danced till 3 o' clock morning.

'Rejoicings, alas, do not last for ever....'[20]

We must turn to finance. "Adapt your revenue to your ruling requirements" was the contention of Sir Charles Metcalfe. "Adapt your military requirements to the exigencies of economical finance" was the unceasing burden'[21] of those mean-spirited men, the Directors.

'And in a sense the Directors were right. The disaffection created by excessive or inappropriate imposts is no whitless dangerous than weak battalions, and the problem of finance pressed very heavily on the minds of those responsible.' Luckily the King of Oudh again proved a very present help, in 1825 and 1826 providing a million and a half sterling, thereby soothing the anxieties of the conscientious but impecunious John Company.'[22] Another helper was the Maharaja of Gwalior. Daulat Rao Sindhia died, 1827; and his wishes as regards an adopted child and his favourite wife's regency were respected, in consideration of a loan of eighty lakh, whose interest was to be spent on a British subsidiary force.

His Majesty of Oudh had monetary anxieties of his own, Oudh having continued for forty years the prey of European harpies. As far back as 1798 Sir John Shore had refused to include in a treaty a clause making the Company the guarantor of alleged loans, which in the usual manner—dishonesty and 36 per cent. Usury—had 'swelled to an amount calculated to excite a feeling of astonishment at the vast amount of rank vegetation springing from so inconsiderable a seed'[23] as the alleged original assistance. Successive Nawabs, harassed by pimps, pandars, dancing girls, and 'conscientious but impecunious John Company' ever busy with new wars, had accepted the aid of generous-minded Europeans; and in return had dispensed bonds 'with truly oriental magnificence. Had these securities been satisfied in due course, the Vizier would have set an example altogether new in India.' But, as Thornton observes, finding a theme adequate to his vivacity of ironical meiosis, the Wazir 'did not thus violate the principles upon which Eastern rulers ordinarily administer their pecuniary affairs.' Each Wazir (later, King) knew that he was dealing with venomous crooks, and he himself was usually a crook in his own fashion. Oudh for close on a century resembles a still living carcase on which thousands of bloated insects were battening.

The 'creditors,' decade after decade, pressed for settlement of their steadily mounting claims, which no amount of such piecemeal composition as was progressively obtained could wipe out. The nature of these claims was by now pretty generally understood, and a Committee of the East India Company recorded (May 31, 1822) that 'loans at such an exorbitant rate of interest cannot justly be considered

in any other light than as gambling transactions.' But better times were coming for the creditors. As one by one the men who remembered when there were still native states not without qualities that called out respect—when a Gurkha war was a frightening campaign, and Bharatpur a still unconquered fastness, when Englishmen and Indians met as foes but as foes who still had hours of friendly equality—as Munro, Scotland's noblest gift to India, died, as an Elphinstone and then a Malcolm went, as Webbe and Graeme Mercer died, and Metcalfe was withdrawn into the Calcutta Secretariat, already a man touched with mortal disease and lingering on only until his place could be filled, a certainty of immeasurable superiority settled on British minds. It was felt that Indians had no particular rights beyond that of accepting the government provided for them, without demurs as to cost or kind. That this cost was immensely swollen by the voracity of unofficial Europeans troubled the best officials, and made them (Metcalfe was here an exception, for entirely liberal reasons) steadfast against lifting the licence on non-Company personnel or allowing 'colonisation' on any scale. But most took it in the light-hearted spirit of the old saying, the 'Nizzy pays for all': this was a period when the good fortune of those who were desirous of preying upon the people of India was in the ascendant.'[24] Nevertheless, the Oudh creditors received a series of checks in 1834, when Lord Ellenborough, supported by the Duke of Wellington (who was exceedingly well informed as to what lengths adventurers habitually went to, and held strong views about what he called 'these gentry'), asked a number of questions which were resented but not satisfactorily answered. Ultimately, 'after much tedious argument,' during twenty years—and with this we may dismiss an unsavoury topic—'political influence procured a decision more favourable to the claims of the European moneylenders, against various native debtors in Oudh than was consistent with the honour of the British government.'[25]

The partial check which rapacity experienced in 1834 was due to some extent to its victory in 1832, a triumph so astounding that it set men thinking. During the worst times of the Madras corruption, various officials trumped up claims against the *Zamindar* or Noozeed, some based on bonds given by him, when in prison, to his jailor, Mr. James Hodges. The claims were so obviously worthless, even in those days, that they were left alone, after the *zamindari's* affairs had been

finally settled in 1803, for thirty years. Nevertheless, the House of Lords in 1832 accepted them, though opposed at every stage by the whole power of the East India Company. The connoisseur of malversation should look into this once-notorious case; it would teach him something of the possibilities of really skilful dishonesty.

Opposition to acceptance of the whole claim (million and a half sterling) against Oudh was due also to slowly growing perception of needed special subventions. Its annexation was always an event hovering more or less close to materialisation; and, referring to this possibility, Sir Robert Peel in 1834

> 'Solemnly deprecated.....the commencement of the exercise of sovereignty, by appropriating eleven hundred thousand pounds sterling of the property of the territory to the liquidation of a claim, for which it did not appear that the British State had ever made itself in the slightest degree responsible.'[26]

The Nepal War had acquainted British officers with the pleasure and health of Himalayan sojourning. Lord Amherst in 1827 started the custom of summering at Shimla, which perhaps is his strongest title to remembrance. The three Governors-General who followed Lord Hastings were less powerful than the brood of vigorous soldiers with 'the knack of executive success,' whose valour and spirit of conquest were within a quarter of a century to make the Company's dominion into an empire as superb as any the world has seen. There might be discontent beneath the surface, but it was discontent absurdly helpless. Courage, enterprise, physical and moral strength, were all on the rulers' side.

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck arrived, July 4, 1828, and began with unpopularity, having to enforce stringent economies. These were of course accompanied with threats of mutiny by the military personnel, but had far-reaching administrative results, and after a considerable interval were saving half a million sterling in civil affairs and (rather more quickly) a million in the army. He abolished the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit, 'which had become proverbial for their dilatoriness and uncertainty of decision,'[27] a gain financially and judicially. He licensed the direct passage of opium from Central India (where then, as now, certain states grew it largely) to Bombay, diverting it from Karachi; the British Government secured the profits

which the Amirs of Sind lost. This action 'practically ensured a valuable contribution, paid for by the Chinese drug-taker, to take the place of the alleged payment to the Company by the English tea-drinker.'[28] R.M. Bird put through the Land Revenue settlement of the North-West (the modern Uttar Pradesh), Allahabad being given a separate Board of Revenue. Most important of all, the urgency of economy led to the extension of 'the uncovenanted services,' already begun by Lord Amherst, a wide devolution of important administrative and judicial duties to an Indian personnel, as far less costly than a solely European one.

The Company had lost its monopoly of the Indian trade in 1813. Another twenty-year period closed in 1833, and opinion in England was setting steadily and increasingly against renewing the charter. Probably the charter would have gone, if it had not been that by 1833 Lord William Bentinck's immense reforms in moral and social practices had made a very different and far better impression abroad than the surfeit of victories which in the dawning of modern thought and modern ethics were wearying and even disgusting people. The Company's activities put up 'a better show,' and what would probably have been denied to a Wellesley or Hastings was granted to Bentinck. The China trade monopoly, however, went the way of the old Indian one. It had been grudgingly continued, and as the Burmese operations opened up the Far Eastern trade increasingly, and its profits were seen to be 'far in excess of its dimensions,'[29] the demand that it be thrown open proved too strong to be resisted. China has disappointed the West in recent years, but in 1830 its people were satisfactory beyond their neighbours; the capacity of the Chinese for consuming opium and paying silver then seemed to be unlimited.' Moreover, the East India Company was accused of profiteering in tea, a commodity which bulked largely in their annual profit of over a million sterling from the Chinese trade.

It is interesting to note that practically all the items which make up the present-day controversy (or, rather, the controversy of a yesterday that is only just finished) were established by 1830. The home remittances amounted to three millions sterling, which the Company covered by the profits of Chinese and Indian goods sold in London. Five years of Lord Amherst's administration had seen average

annual deficits in the Indian revenues of close on the same sum; and the rule of Lord Hastings and Amherst together had resulted in a total deficit of nearly nineteen and a half millions. Bentinck turned the deficits into what was a two millions surplus when he left; showing what was possible if wars were avoided and revenues used for the ordinary administrative routine.

The Company had done England service, immensely augmenting commerce, adding to national pride, weakening and humiliating France and Holland. It drew dividends from its possession of India, and would have to be bought out if deprived of India. The Act of 1833, passed after discussion before 'empty benches and an uninterested audience' of the House of Commons and a less languid treatment by the house of Lords, reprieved the Company for twenty more years. The Proprietors' dividends became definitely chargeable on Indian territorial revenues, but were backed by collateral British Government stock.

The *Calcutta Gazette* (October, 1833) hailed the charter's renewal by calling for 'a general illumination and a display of fireworks,' which were granted, and brought much satisfaction to a populace always agreeably avid for *tamashas*. The new regime came into force in the spring of 1834.

Bentinck's orders, arising naturally our of the need and demand for economy, were to leave native states alone. This he could not altogether do. In suppressing *thagi* he obtained the help of Oudh, Haidarabad, and Gwalior, the Maratha durbars behaving much more amicably than during Lord Hastings's drive against the Pindaris. He failed in his attempts to apply pressure on the Central States over the opium trade, however and had to fall back on the arrangement, whereby the Malwa opium was sent through British Indian ports. Mysore since Purnaya's retirement in 1811 had been robbed and terrorised till a peasants' revolt came in 1831; the Company suppressed this, and took the country over in trust, [30] almost certainly the only possible course. An Oudh minister who tried to reform administration was unsupported by the Power whose citizens were largely responsible for that kingdom's drawn-out wretchedness, and he was driven out. The Raja of Coorg, a murderous ruffian who refused to hold any relations with the British, was deposed after considerable fighting, in

which the Governor-General acted as Commander-in-Chief, and Coorg an was annexed. The Political Commissioner in Delhi was murdered, and the culprit, a chieftain, hanged, to the menace of a rising. Jaipur, after disturbances amounting to civil war, the murder of a British officer and the wounding of the Resident, and the child-raja's death, possibly by poison, was given a Council of Regency for a new child-King. Gwalior broke into internecine quarrels, Indore sank into disorder, Baroda became truculent and hostile, Udaipur drifted towards the condition which was presently to stir Henry Lawrence's contempt and his scepticism of Tod's rose-coloured pictures of the Rajputs.

All this completed the working out of the modern relationship of princes and paramount Power in its main technique except for Haidarabad, which (as befitted its long and practically unbroken alliance) was treated as a case apart. Haidarabad sank now into chaos of the worst kind, left to its ruler's devices, which tended only towards show and luxury.

The peninsula and all-Hindustan conquered, the Company looked earnestly to their western borders. Ranjit Singh, 'the Lion of the Punjab,' was sinking fast to decrepitude. In October, 1831, Bentinck drew him into a camp of several days' duration, at Rupar, on his marches; 'those sons of glory those two lights of men,' displayed themselves on an Oriental counterpart of 'the Field of the Cloth of Gold',[31] and concluded a treaty of perpetual amity, which, as a matter of fact, was to last for another seventeen years—a long period for such treaties.

It was in Bentinck's time that the major bugbear of the century entered Indian politics. Russia, steadily encroaching on Persia and Turkestan, made the Indian Government cast roving eyes abroad: seeking fresh alliances with buffer states, pondering annexations which would provide a better frontier. Catch was theirs already; and in 1825, Sind had been awed by the presence of 'a hostile demonstration'[32] on its frontiers. In journeys, sometimes open, sometimes in disguise, the Company's agents assiduously collected geographical and military information concerning their neighbours. There had been Elphinstone's mission to Kabul, Malcolm's two missions to Persia. Central Asia was not as bigotedly closed to British Infiltration as it afterwards became (thanks, mainly, to the two Afghan Wars). From 1819 to 1825,

Moorcroft and Trebeck, two men not in any covenanted service, but spurred by adventurous courage and curiosity, explored (as horse-dealers and merchants, predecessors of Kipling's Afghan in *Kim*) Ladakh, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Balkh, Bokhara. Moorcroft died in the vast snowy loneliness behind the Hindu-Kush, disappointed that he had not stirred the Indian Government to overcome their apathy and fear of annoying the Sikh Power. He wrote to Metcalfe, who as Resident in Delhi had helped him and sympathised:

'It is somewhat humiliating that we should know so little of countries which touch upon our frontier; and this in a great measure out of respect for a nation that is as despicable as insolent, whose origin was founded upon rapine, and which exists by acquiring conquests it only retains by depopulating the territory.'

His view of the Sikhs was largely coloured by the prejudice he found in Afghanistan. Ranjit Singh, after rising to supreme power among his people, had steadily pushed back the border tribes and their suzerain in Kabul, in 1834 wresting from them Peshawar. He was aided by soldiers broken in the downfall of Napoleon,' whose methods revolted Henry Lawrence, his guest during some of the Afghan War:

'All that can be said in his favour is, that he has savages to deal with—but why should he deal with them as a savage? He might be as energetic and as summary as he pleased, and no one would object to his dealing with a lawless people in such manner as would restrain them in their practices; but he might spare us the scenes that so frequently occur in the streets of Peshawar, equally revolting to humanity and decency.'[33]

Avitabile blew from guns, impaled, flayed have alive, left men-naked and honey-smeared in the sun to die. Yet Lawrence thought him, thought just the picture of one of Rubens' Satyrs, one of the world's mastermind's; and to his wife he added, 'Remember....that I have eaten of his salt, and that he has been civil to me. We must, therefore in telling the truth, do so in mercy.' But the Sikhs added, to cruelty rutnless as their foes', fighting qualities which make Moorcroft's adjective 'despicable' ring queerly in our modern knowledge of them.

Moorcroft was before his time, but only a few years before it. The time came suddenly, bringing with it the man. Alexander Burnes at the age of sixteen arrived in Bombay, 1821; and at a period of his

career when the majority of young men are mastering the details of company drill, and wasting their time in the strenuous idleness of cantonment life,'[34] was a noted linguist, and whole yet in his teens the official Persian translator to the Sudder Court. In 1831 he was sent up the Indus, from 'the enlightened desire' of Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, 'to ascertain' that river's 'commercial possibilities.' The Sind Amirs were told that they were to throw open their river. Burnes's ostensible mission was to take a present of fine English horses to Ranjit Singh.

Metcalfe, in a Minute of Council (October, 1830), contemptuously called the camouflaged expedition 'a trick unworthy of our government, which cannot fail when detected, as most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it.' The Amirs watched with dismay; one spectator at the riverside lifting his hands and crying 'Sind is gone, since the English have seen the river, which is the road to its conquest.' But Burnes went on, and was received honourably by Ranjit Singh, who was delighted with the horse. Returning, at Ludhiana he met a former Amir of Afghanistan, Shah Suja, whom his own people had driven out in 1809 and repulsed twice in attempts since; Shah Suja spoke warmly and longingly of the joy it would be to him to be back in Kabul, with an English Resident and the English using his country as a high-road between Europe and India. Full of enthusiasm, Burnes obtained passports from the Indian Government for an overland journey 'to England,' a journey which took him over Afghanistan, the Central Asia khanates, Persia, and by sea back to Bombay. In justice to the man who was destined to play so prominent a part in the silliest and most unjust war ever waged by the Indian Government, it is fair to say that he stated emphatically that Shah Suja lacked both energy to recover his throne and tact to keep it, while he found the ruling Kabul chief, Dost Muhammad, a far superior man, and his people 'simple-minded, sober,' 'of frank, open manners, impulsive and variable almost to childishness.'

Burnes's travels made a tremendous impression. In India, and then in London, he was lionised excessively; fashionable ladies besought him to honour their gatherings, statesmen and scholars listened eagerly to him. Special missions to Sind (1835) and Kabul

(1837) followed. All this he enjoyed immensely. The rest of his career will emerge in the course of narrative. Kaye observes pityingly:

'It was the hard fate of Alexander Burnes to be over-rated at the outset and under-rated at the close of this career'.

REFERENCES

1. Kaye, *Life of Metcalfe*, ii. 247-8.
2. *Life of Metcalfe*, ii. 249-50.
3. Higginbotham, *Men Whom India Has Known*, 42.
4. *Life of Metcalfe*, ii. 249-50.
5. Anne Thackeray Ritchie and Richardson Events, *Lord Amherst* ('Rulers of India) 73.
6. 1823-28.
7. Edwardes and Merivale, 35.
8. H.H. Wilson, *Documents illustrative of the Burmese War*, 41.
9. *Crawfurd, Embassy to Ava*, i. 30I.
10. Snodgrass, *Narrative of the Burmese War*, 74.
11. *Lord Amherst*, 149.
12. *Oxford History of India*, 649. But religion (that is to say religious ritual) *was* in danger; 'the usage of caste compelled each man to take his own set' (*Lord Amherst*, 148) of cooking utensils, for which no transport could be obtained. As for Vincent Smith's 'as usual,' the extreme rarity with which disaffected elements raised the cry of 'religion in danger'—the effective cry possible, for which plausible excuse always existed—is admiringly commented on by distinguished soldiers all through the troubled times which continued with scant intermission eversince Lord Wellesley's Governor-Generalship.
13. *Lord Amherst*, 150.
14. *op. cit.*, 15.
15. Lady Amherst's *Journal*.
16. Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, i. 59.
17. *Lord Amherst*, 153-4.
18. M. Martin, *The Indian Empire*, iii. 426
19. 'The glory of the achievement was dimmed by the excessive rapacity for prize-money displayed by Lord Combermere' (*Oxford History of India*,

653). Cf. Marshman (*History of India*, 356): 'The laurels of Bhartpur were tarnished by the rapacity of the military authorities; he considers rapacity' open to criticisun before it becomes 'excessive'.

20. *Lord Amherst*, 158.
21. *op. cit.*, 33.
22. *Ibid.*, 182.
23. Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, vi. 2-3.
24. *op. cit.*, vi. 9.
25. Montgomery Martin, iii, 422.
26. Thornton, vi. 20.
27. Demetrius C. Boulger *Lord William Bentinck*, 61.
28. *op. cit.*, 121.
29. *Ibid.*, 10.
30. It was restored in 1868.
31. See Emily Eden, *Up the Country* (Oxford University Press, 1930)186.
32. Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, 175.
33. Henry Lawrence, *Adventures in the Punjab*, chapter ii.
34. Kaye i. 175.

3

Administration under Lord William Bentinck

Bentinck and the new spirit in England: reaction against Hinduism: Bentinck's reforms: judicial changes: police: suppression of thagi and suttee: effect of these campaigns on administration: Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The arrival of Lord William Bentinck marked the beginning of a new era in numerous ways. His seven years' rule proved a peaceful interlude between two periods of severe and costly campaigning, and thus made it possible to achieve reforms which were long overdue. Helped by his previous experience in Madras and a more efficient staff of officials, he consolidated and recognised the administration which since the time of Cornwallis had been hastily adapted to the newly conquered countries. His own instincts were those of a Liberal reformer. He believed in peace, retrenchment, and reform, in free competition, free trade, and a strictly limited sphere of State action. In Sir Charles Metcalfe he had an admirable chief of staff who supplied the local knowledge and some of the driving force behind the reforms. These touched nearly every side of Indian life and formed the basis of the paternal Government of the Victorian era. Bentinck initiated new policies in the spheres of finance, justice, and education. Freedom from war gave him a larger European staff and greater confidence in taking unpopular measures. He was able to turn his attention to the civilization of savage tribes and the abolition of certain religious and social customs, such as suttee and female infanticide.

This epoch is important from another point of view. Bentinck and the younger officials who came out in the twenties brought with them some of the new spirit which was causing a religious and social revival in England. For some years Wilberforce and Fowell Buxton

had been exposing the horrors of slavery, and Sir James Mackintosh had been inveighing against the barbarities of the criminal code. They were beginning to have their effect. By 1830 over a hundred felonies had been removed from the category of capital offences, and English law became little more bloodthirsty than Muslim. In Poor Law of 1834 helped to restore the working mans' self-respect. In 1833 also, keble preached his sermon on National Apostasy, and Newman published the first of the *Tracts for the Times.* They started a movement which was to have considerable influence upon many of the per-Mutiny officials. A new leaven was working within the small English community, in India, a new school of officials and officers began to make its influence felt. It was to show itself in a revolt against the lax morality common amongst Europeans in the East, against the patronage of idolatry by the Government, and against certain Hindu customs.[1] The English began to believe that they had a moral mission in India, that they represented a higher civilization, a better religion. The younger men came out to India and received an impression of a country where crime flourished and the mass of the people were steeped in a form of savagery which they connected with the Hindu religion.

Trevelyan, writing in the middle 'thirties on Indian education, talks of 'suttee, Thuggee, human sacrifices, Ghaut murders, and other excrescences of Hinduism and expressly enjoined by it.'[2] This was the view of many contemporaries, and the moral was only emphasised by the horrid example of the older generation of Englishmen, with 'their black wives running about picking up a little rice, while their husbands please them by worshipping the favourite idol.[3] Evangelical activities in England were beginning to have their repercussions in India. Phrases like 'churchwarden to Juggernaut' and 'wet-nurse to Vishnu' embarrassed a government which held that the policy of complete impartiality required the attendance of the Company's officers at Hindu and Muslim religious festivals. Government offices were still closed on such days, but open on Sunday, and a cocoanut was officially broken at the beginning of the monsoon. The question was to become still more acute under Lord Auckland, when Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, resigned his post rather than punish a British soldier who refused to take part in a ceremonial parade

in salutation of a Hindu deity. These ideas were beginning to effect the expatriated Englishman when Bentinck came to India. They had their counterpart in that reformist movement amongst certain sections of educated Hindus of which Rammohan Roy was the leader. Hinduism at that moment was at a low ebb, and the more enlightened Indians turned Westward for inspiration. Many Englishmen of that period would have subscribed to Macaulay's view, written in 1836, that 'if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence.' The revival of orthodox Hinduism did not become vigorous or widespread[4] till after the Mutiny. When Bentinck arrived, nearly thirty years were still to pass before that catastrophe. His reforms the secularist complacency of the early Liberalism.

One of Bentinck's first tasks was both dangerous and unpopular. Since the Charter Act of 1813, which separated the Company's political and trading activities, there had been a rapid increase in the expenditure under the former head. By 1827 this had risen from about sixteen million yearly to over twenty-five million, had the difference was only partially covered by receipts from the newly added territories. There was a deficit of a million in the last year of Lord Amherst's term of office, and Bentinck sailed for India with definite instructions to cut down civil and military salaries and allowances, and reduce expenditure generally. The army was mulcted of half its *batta*, the extra allowance which the officers had come to regard as a permanent addition to their pay. Special committees examined and reduced the expenditure of each Presidency, cutting down the irregular military forces and part of the civil establishments. The work required great tact and firmness. These Bentinck possessed, but he recovered from the odium engendered by those early years and to most Englishmen he remained 'the clipping Dutchman' until he retired.

The judicial system had been little altered since the time of Cornwallis, and the Provincial Courts of Appeal were showing signs of deterioration. The administrative side of the civil service has usually attracted the ablest men, and this tendency was especially marked when new areas were being brought under control. The Courts had become, in Lord William Bentinck's words, 'resting-places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities.' The

general standards of administration had improved, but the courts remained hopelessly in arrears, both with the civil appeals and also their gaol-deliveries. The courts were now abolished, and their criminal jurisdiction transferred to the Commissioners of Revenue. This experiment was a failure, and the Sessions duties were then allotted to the civil judges, who were instructed to hold a monthly gaol-delivery, and thus became the forerunners of the present District judges. Their magisterial powers had, of course, to be transferred, and were given to the District Collectors, a 'blending of Somerset House and the Old Bailey' which survives in spite of obvious theoretical objections. The main collector of revenue and head of the police, the Sessions Judge with criminal and civil jurisdiction—were thus established. The concentration of power in the hands of the European District Magistrate was originally justified by the difficulty of initiating cases against gangrobbers, many of whom were protected by *Zamindars*, and by the need of a single authority in times of disorder. The system received a new lease of life in the Mutiny, and has continued since, though the revenue work is more stereotyped, and the District Magistrate has become more like a French *Prefet*, co-ordinating in each locality the many activities of a modern government.

Bombay, after Elphinstone's departure, saw a temporary revival of that struggle between a High Court, created in 1823, and the Executive, which had so disturbed Bengal forty years earlier. The Court claimed jurisdiction over every person in Bombay territory, then extended far beyond the port and adjacent islands. On October 6, 1828, the Presiding Judge told the world where, in his opinion, the Governor stood:

Malcolm, the Governor, was properly determined not to be beaten down, 'not by honest fellows with glittering sabres, but quibbling, quill-driving lawyer,' and won support from the Governor-General and Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control. The latter wrote from London, in February 1829, that 'their law is considered bad law; but then their errors in matters of law are nothing in comparison with those they have committed in the tenor of their speeches from the bench.' The dispute was temporarily settled by the appointment of Malcolm's own Advocate-General as Chief Justice, a timely reminder that patronage still went to those who supported the

Company, and the Privy Council rejected the claims of the Supreme Court. The controversy aroused much talk, because Malcolm's indiscretion allowed a private letter of the Board of Control's President to get into the Press, with the result that 'Lord Ellenborough, of whom little before had been known in India, suddenly became famous.'[5] But the Privy Council's action settled the trouble for the time being; and Malcolm, whose qualities were better fitted for a solely Oriental stage than for one systematised and in process of modernisation, was able to leave the cares of his governorship, and pass to activities in which he was perfectly at home, riding through Kathiawar to Cutch, where he harangued Rajput chiefs and dewans on the horrid custom of infanticide. He was respectfully listened to; and returned, hunting and slaying by the way,[6] in the manner of the old joyous times when even a campaign had been for its leaders more than half play, with battle and the chase alternating and easily passing into one another. Meanwhile, the establishment of the 'rule of law' had suffered a temporary setback, from which there was a quick recovery. Malcolm was typical of a vanishing age, even he knew that his beliefs and principles were doomed to defeat:

I have tried to deal some heavy blows at these costly and dangerous fabrics yclept Supreme Courts; but they are too essential for the objects of power and patronage, and to feed the rising spirit of the age, for me are any man to prevail against them.' (October 19, 1828.)

A weakness of the Cornwallis Regulations had been the very cautious and limited use of Indian judges for civil cases. From time to time their jurisdiction had been slightly increased, but the first real extension was made in 1827, when more subordinate judges were appointed and *Sadar Amins* were empowered to try suits involving double the former amount. In 1831 Lord William Bentinck established a superior type of Indian Civil Judge authorised to try cases involving property to any amount, and with salaries rising to £ 720 a year. The principle of appointing more Indians to positions of importance was discussed before the Parliamentary Committee of 1832-3, many witnesses arguing that this was the only method of keeping down arrears of work, and avoiding a more expensive administration. The next ten years saw the appointment of Indian deputy-collectors in 1837,

and deputy-magistrates in 1843. In the latter capacity they were able to pass sentences of imprisonment up to three years. In this way some real recognition was made of the principle contained in 87th clause of the Charter Act of 1833. 'Be it enacted that no native of the said territories....shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment in the said Company.' Up to the time of the Mutiny the employment of Indians was being extended at a moderate rate. In 1857 there were some 256 Indian officials drawing over £ 360 a year, and 2590 held various appointments of a lower grade. Nearly every civil case was by this time being tried originally before an Indian judge.

The tracking and apprehension of criminals has always proved a more difficult task than the organisation of criminal justice. Cornwallis had taken the management of the 'police' into Government's hands, and introduced the *thanadari* system, with Indian *darogas* incharge of each police district, but the rank and file of the police force were the village watchmen, 'an enormous ragged army who eat up the industry of this province.'[7] The idea of an organised disciplined body of men had hardly been conceived in any part of the world. It was considered a great innovation when Sir Robert Peel reorganised the London Metropolitan Police in 1829, the year after Lord William Bentinck had become Governor-General, and England had her first 'Peelers.' In 1830 few governments thought it their duty to provide a 'patrolling police force with recognised stations any more than they would have thought it incumbent upon them to provide universal juvenile education. Regular policemen were first found necessary in the large cities, but in other countries, as in India, the expenses were entirely defrayed by the residents. The extension of this system into country districts, and the co-ordination of the various forces, has proved a very slow process which is far from complete even in countries like the United States, where a sheriff may still have to summon a posse of fellow-citizens to pursue a criminal. Bentinck did not alter the *thanadari* system, but he organised what might be described as a 'flying squad' to deal with the specific crimes of *thagi* and dacoity. His successor, Lord Auckland, improved the pay and standing of the *darogas*, but the village watchmen remained dependent upon the other villagers for their support, and shortly before the Mutiny

it was recognised that, while the special department was doing excellent work, the *thanadari* system was functioning very badly. The matter was under discussion in 1856, when a minute by the Governor of Bengal sketched out a policy which would have turned the watchmen into regular government servants.

The suppression of *thagi* was a notable achievement of the pre-Mutiny era. The *Thag*, or more accurately *phansidar*, was a member of one of those hereditary criminal castes which have always been a feature of Indian life. Some of these like the *Chapperbunds*, and the *haranshikaris*, still survive to worry the police officer by their cunning thefts. The *phansidar*, or 'nooseholder,' was unusual because his invariable method of procedure was to murder before robbing. Working in gangs, which were bound together by strict religious vows to the goddess Kali, the *phansidars* would ingratiate themselves with travellers, and then strangle them and bury them. They formed a powerful confederacy operating over the whole of the north of India, and supported by many landowners, through whom they disposed of their booty. For some years after the British occupation their activities were screened by the Maratha and Pindari Wars, but the existence of the professed *Thag* had been established by Lord Hastings's administration and in 1829 a special department under Colonel Sleeman was appointed to deal with them. The methods by which these gangs were finally dispersed, and a description of their habits and curious mentality, have been recounted in two classic works.[8] Some idea of their depredations can be gathered from Sleeman's report of 1840, when the number of 'ascertained wellknown and bloody Bhils' in Oudh alone was given as 274, and of the twenty approvers one confessed to 931 murders in 40 years, and another to the 508 in 20 years. Over 1500 *Thags* were apprehended in the first-six years.

In 1837 Colonel Sleeman was also entrusted with the suppression of dacoity, but here the task was much more difficult. Many Indians of all classes must have known about the operations of the *Thags*, and in some cases assisted them and profited by them, but a far larger and more influential section of the population were accessary to the dacoities. There were parts of India where dacoity was as much a national pastime as bull-fighting in Spain. It was considered by its participants as an honourable profession.

'Whilst talking over their excursions....their eyes gleamed with pleasure, and beating their hands on their foreheads and breasts, and muttering some ejaculations, they bewailed the hardness of their lot, which now ensured their never being able again to participate in such a joyous occupation.'[9]

They could not be hunted down with the ruthlessness employed against the *Thags*, and for some years they were protected by the insistence of the law courts upon proof of specific offences, when all that could normally be proved was that a prisoner belonged to a gang of dacoits. This was partially corrected by an Act of 1843, but the difficulty of obtaining evidence still proved a great hindrance, and the professional dacoits learnt to operate near the borders of Indian States, where their pursuit was made harder by questions of jurisdiction. In Western India the most persistent robbers were the Bhils, whose settlement and reclamation by Outram was a wholly admirable work.

The Government's duty was clear in the case of *thagi*, and also of dacoity. It was impossible to justify murder for the sake of robbery, even though the perpetrators might claim to be religious devotees. Other savage customs presented greater difficulties. The religious element was stronger, the element of gain was less. As our officials spread over the country, they were brought into touch with new side of Indian life, about which their predecessors had been ignorant or indifferent. Some of these offended strongly against all-European ideas of civilization. The three most important, not only in themselves but in the way they affected the Englishman's idea of India, were the *meriah* human sacrifices in Orissa, the prevalence of female infanticide, and the custom of 'suttee' or widow-burning, which was common throughout Bengal and Northern India. The first was confined to certain backward sects, but the other two were practised by the highest castes, and the last was enthusiastically approved by all classes.

The *meriah* sacrifices of Orissa were first noticed in the report of an official (Russell), May 11, 1837. There suppression was a slow business, not completed until the end of Lord Dalhousie's time, if then. The main work was done by General Campbell. The sacrifices were to the spirit of natural fertility, a sanguinary form of the *Iti* or *Itu* worship still existing in rural North India. At Chinna Kimedy she took the form of an elephant, at Gumsur and Boad of a bird. The Khonds

who practised the rite sometimes allowed *meriah* girls to live until they had children by Khond fathers. These children were reared for sacrifice, and were well treated. Before being put to death they were exchanged for similar children in another village, apparently because their own village had ties of affection with them. The sacrifices were always in public. They took varying forms, all inexpressibly cruel, consisting of the cutting of the flesh off the living victim.

Campbell was away on the Chinese War, 1842-7, and had to take up the work of suppression afterwards with renewed vigour. His task was pursued with immense patience and kindness. In Chinna Kimedy the people were suspicious, since it was rumoured that he himself was collecting *meriahs* to sacrifice to the water-spirit, because a tank he had made had dried up; also, that his elephants needed periodical meals of human beings. He began by giving cotton cloth and strings of bright beads to those who had female children (he was simultaneously trying to extirpate infanticide), and threw open his tent to full examination. ('It is the house of a god!' his astonished visitors exclaimed.) He tried also, with scant success, to introduce vaccination. In 1853, towards the end of his long campaign, he discovered that this formula was being used in the now *meriah*-less worship:

'Do not be wrathful with us, O Goddess, for giving you blood of beasts instead of human blood! Vent your anger on this gentleman, who is well able to bear it. We are guiltless.'[10]

Between 1837 and 1854, 1506 meriahs were rescued.

The killing of girl babies was commonest amongst the warlike castes in Central and Western India, and and is a natural development of a primitive civilization in which an unmarried woman is considered as unchaste, and habit to extreme lengths. The Rajkumars kept very few of their female children, and the custom was prevalent throughout Rajputana. It was extremely difficult for the early administrators to deal with this problem. The systematic murder of children was an affair of the zenana. The mother was usually the executioner. She either did not feed the child, or 'rubbed a little opium on the nipples of her breasts.' Considering the extreme privacy of the zenana, it was impossible to deal with specific cases, and the only practical method was to bring government pressure to bear upon the leaders in areas

where the very small proportion of female babies showed that the custom was in force. One economic reason for female infanticide was the high dowries demanded amongst certain castes, such as the Mairs. In Kathiawar the Political Agent, Willoughby, instituted an 'infanticide fund' from which presents were made to members of the Jharijah tribe who preserved their daughters, while maximum sums were fixed for dowries. As the country became more settled it was possible to keep better registers of births, and infanticide became more localised and even before the Mutiny had tended to disappear amongst all except a few castes.

'Suttee' presented a more difficult problem, and the subject has had far more publicity outside India. *Shahamarana*, the 'dying in company with' one's husband, is a very ancient Indian rite. The Anglo-Indian word 'suttee' is from *sati*, the woman who performs the rite, usually by immolating herself on the funeral pyre. It seems to have been confined to the higher castes of the Hindus, though the weavers of Tippera practised a still more objectionable variant in burying their widows alive. The Moguls attempted to discourage the custom, whenever it came under their notice. Tavernier ways that 'the Governors, who are Mussalmans, hold this dreadful custom of self-destruction in horror, and do not readily give permission.'[11] Manucci describes a case at Agra, in which the woman was rescued, and the Brahmins complained, whereupon Aurangzeb 'issued an order that in all lands under Mogul control, never again should the officials allow a woman to be burnt.'[12] It was discouraged in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where Metcalfe when Resident was able to prohibit it, but was common amongst the Brahmins of Bengal and throughout the Hindu States. When a prince died there was something approaching a holocaust. In 1780 sixty-four women burned at the death of Raja Ajit Singh of Marwar. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century, during the anarchy of the last days of Sikh rule in the Punjab, such wholesale 'suttees' were frequent. Wives and concubines were burnt in numbers after the deaths of Kishari Singh and Basanta Singh. Suchet Singh's death was reputed to have been followed by the burning of ten wives and three hundred concubines. For some years the various Europeans who came to India noticed and disapproved of the practice, but could not prevent it except in small compact areas. The French

prohibited it at Chandernagore, the Danes at Serampur, the Portuguese in Goa.

From the Hindu point of view *sahamarana* was an extremely popular semi-religious spectacle. It was attended by large crowds, and redounded to the credit of the deceased husband and his family. There was no opposition to the practice from Indians until about 1820, when a few educated and Westernised Hindus, led by Rammohun Roy, started a reformist movement. The higher Muslim officials disapproved of 'suttee,' but, like the earlier British servants of the Company, they had a no police force at their disposal and no means of preventing such occurrences. Occasionally English officials would interfere when a case came to their notice. Mr. Brooks, Collector of Shahabad, forcibly prevented a suttee in 1789. The Collector of Gaya, in 1805, stopped the burning of a girl of twelve. It was only when the administration became better organised, and more Englishmen began to move about the country, that the extent of these and other practices was fully understood. William Carey, the missionary, brought the subject of widow-burning before the Bengal Government by carrying out an unofficial census of 'suttees' occurring within thirty miles of Calcutta. He placed the figures—there were 438 in 1803—before Lord Wellesley, who had already forbidden one religious practice, that of exposing children at Saugor Point, and was disposed to take the same action about widow-burning. Unfortunately he referred the matter to the Nizamat Adalat, the court of appeal in criminal law.

The Nizamat Adalat displayed its accustomed pedantry, and advised the government to be guided by 'the religious opinions and prejudices of the natives,' and for the next twenty-five years a vacillating policy was followed. The government took the advice of leading Hindu Pandits, who replied that the practice was 'recognised and encouraged by the doctrines of the Hindu religion,' and for some years attempts were made to regulate the 'suttees,' and 'to allow the practice in those cases in which it is countenanced by their religion, and to prevent it in others in which it is, by the same authority, prohibited.'[13] The effect of action was to legalise the purely voluntary immolation of a widow who was over sixteen and not pregnant, and in pursuance of this policy the police were ordered to get early information of an intended 'suttee,' and to see that the widow was

neither drugged nor forcibly burned. It was a lamentable procedure, for the police officer would almost invariably be a Hindu or Muslim of the poorer classes, and in either case would not be too critical, while his presence would give an impression that the Government's approval had been obtained. The official sanction had one good effect. As more European officers came out to undertake magisterial and police work in the districts. They began to investigate these cases, and to discover the sordid economic reasons as well as the sheer love of cruelty which formed the background to so many cases of *sahamarana.*

By the 'twenties there was a strong move for prohibition amongst the officials in the more settled areas. The evidence of Mr. Ewer, the Superintendent of Police in Lower Bengal, had great weight. It may be quoted at length as a fair description of most 'suttees.'

'There are many reasons for thinking that such an event as a voluntary Suttee very parely occurs; few widows would think of sacrificing themselves unless overpowered by force or persuasion, very little of either being sufficient to overcome the physical or mental powers of the majority of Hindu females. A widow, who would turn with natural instinctive horror from the first hint of sharing her husband's pile, will a be at length gradually brought to pronounce a reluctant consent because, distracted with grief at the event, without one friend to advise or protect her, she is little prepared to oppose the surrounding crowd of hungry Brahmins and interested relations....In this state of confusion a few hours quickly pass, and the widow is burnt before she has had time to think of the subject. Should utter indifference for her husband, and superior sense, enable her to preserve her judgment, and to resist the arguments of those about her, it will avail her little—the people will not be disappointed of their show; and the entire population of a village will turn out to assist in dragging her to be the bank of the river, and in keeping her on the pile.'[14]

Bentinck's Regulation prohibiting widow-burning was not issued until 1829. Both Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst had considered this step, but had deferred action partly from fear that such an order could not be made operative, but chiefly because they thought it might lead to disaffection in the sepoy army then on active service, and to disturbances in the recently ceded districts. Nothing of the kind actually occurred, but men like Sir Charles Metcalfe, while, concurring in the

prohibition, believed that it might 'produce a religious excitement, the consequences of which, if once set in action, cannot be foreseen.'[15] Rammohun Roy himself considered that the order was premature.[16]

In Bengal and Bihar there was opposition to the Regulation, but it took only a legal form. An appeal was made to the Privy Council, and after many delays heard and dismissed. The enforcement of the Regulation was made effective throughout the provinces within a year or two. It took another generation before the practice was abolished in all the Indian states. In Southern India *sahamarana* would seem to have been dying out before the Regulation was made, but over Bengal, Bihar, and parts of what are now the Uttar Pradesh the prohibition was directly contrary to public sentiment, and the tradition in favour of the rite has survived even until modern times. The not infrequent cases when widows commit suicide in their own homes are commented upon with approbation in the Indian Press, and the occasional cases of widow-burning which have occurred in the last thirty years have always aroused great popular enthusiasm. In the last recorded case, in August, 1932, events seem to have followed very much the course described by Mr. Ewer, over a century before.[17]

This long campaign to suppress certain types of indigenous crime had a notable effect on British administration. The English officials of the early Victorian period were convinced that they had to deal with a degenerate race, and this impression was only intensified when, passing beyond the old Moghul Empire, they came into contact with the savage hill chieftains of the Himalayan foothills. There is no more need to pass final judgments on early Hindu morality than upon, say the mercantilist theory. Able apologists have from time to time defended the *saharmarana* rite,[18] and future generations may hold that female infanticide is a lesser evil than the unchecked growth of population which has characterised these later years. The point which must be emphasised is that from about 1830 onwards English officials were imbued with the idea that they were, in Macaulay's phrase, undertaking the 'stupendous process' of reconstructing 'a decomposed society.' They expressed their contempt for the older type of Company's servant by saying they were 'Hinduised,' and this attitude developed into a kind of racial aloofness which became more marked as English women began to settle in India with their husbands. There

is a definite change of outlook between the earlier administrators, like Munro, Elphinstone, and Malcolm, and their successors who in 1849 set to work in the newly annexed Punjab. The latter were more ruthless, more spiritually arrogant, and less disposed to delegate any real responsibility to Indians. The tendency to isolate themselves from the Indian was to become still more marked after the mutiny. This attitude was visible in every department of our administration. The annexationist policy of Lord Dalhousie was largely inspired by the difficulties which he encountered when urging the abolition of 'suttee' and female infanticide in the Indian States. Part of the opposition to using Indians in an executive capacity was due to a fear of weakening the administration in its struggle against such barbarities. Men like Elphinstone and Munro had envisaged an India in which the British did little more than keep the peace. Leaving the administration in Indian hands, they would have trusted to education to cure such evils as they believed to exist. The next generation of officials was conscious of the clash between two civilizations, one of which they believed to be improving, and the other to be in the stages of degeneration.

On Lord William Bentinck's going, in March, 1835, Sir Charles Metcalfe acted as Governor-General for a year. He abolished the Inland Transit Duties, a great assistance to commerce, and removed the restrictions on the Press. The latter action aroused the Directors to boundless indignation, and settled all question of his confirmation as Governor-General, which had long been canvassed with much vacillation. He stuck to his opinions with characteristic courage and though the objection to officials being appointed to the supreme place was upheld (when for once it might wisely have been waived), he was considered good enough for two colonial governorships, of Jamaica and Canada.

REFERENCES

1. The reactions a younger civil servant to his older fellow-countrymen are shown in that curious novel *Oakfield* written by Matthew Arnold's brother, W.D. Arnold, who died (1859) after a few years in India. See Matthew Arnolds' commemorative poem, *A Southern Night*.

2. C.E. Trevelyan. *The Education of the People of India*, 1838, p. 83. Trevelyan later Sir Charles Trevelyan, was a prominent official of the Mutiny period. He was a brother-in-law of Macaulay.

3. A. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India*, 48.
4. The 'counter-reformation,' led by Debendranath Tagore (the poet's father) against Dr. Duff's success in Christian propaganda in the forties, was local.
5. Kaye, *Life of Malcolm*, ii. 532.
6. 'Thirty-one hogs slain in the last two days by the spears of our party; and I have had an opportunity of showing the boys that his honor's dart is as sure and as deadly as the best of them.' (March 7, 1830.)

   'I am just returned from Cutch in high health having besides the inspection of our western frontier and the revision of establishment, had glorious hunting and shooting—wild hogs, elks, deer, foxes, hares, black partridges, and quails, almost to a surfeit. It has been a great treat.'
7. Hunter, *The Annals Rural Bengal*, 335. He was writing in 1860, before the new force was organised.
8. *Confessions of a Thug*, by Colonel Meadows Taylor (first published, 1839); *Rambles and Recollections*, by W.H. Sleeman.
9. Colonel Sleeman's Bhudduck Report, 1849, quoted by Kaye, *Administration of the East India Company*.
10. *Narrative by Major-General John Campbell, C.B., or his operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide*. Printed for Private Circulation, 1861.
11. *Travels in India* (Oxford University Press), ii. 162 *et seq.*
12. Manucci, *A Pepys of Mogul India* (Murray), 124.
13. Government resolution of December 5, 1812. Reply on an enquiry from an official in Bandalkhand.
14. Ewer's evidence is given in Peggs' *India's Cries to British Humanity* (Second Edition, 1830), 14. See also Edward Thompson, *Suttee*, passim.
15. *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, J.W. Kaye, 1858, ii. 78.
16. Miss Collet, *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, 146.
17. See The *Times*, September 2, 1932. 'A Brahmin of Fatehpur Sikri died on Monday. His widow was determined to commit Suttee, but was dissuaded. A mob collected at her house and demanded that she should burn herself. The police locked the woman in the house, but the mob broke in and dragged the woman to the burning ghat The mob was erecting a pyre when the police fired, killing three persons and wounding five, and rescued the woman.'
18. See, for example, Ananda Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva*. Modern writers, however adopt a very different line of argument from that of the orthodox Hindus who opposed Bentinck in such papers as the *Chandrika*.

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Dalhousie's Administration and Annexations

An outworn system: Dalhousie and Napier: premonitions of the Mutiny: Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse: Satara: Sambalpur: Karauli: Jhansi and Nagpur: the Nizam: Bhawalpur: Oudh: the palace at Delhi: the Peshwaship: the second Burmese War: understanding with Afghanistan: the Santal rebellion: irritation spreading through both British and native India: war with Persia: summary of Dalhousie's a administrative achievements.

Dalhousie entered on an outmoded system, which in fact broke down under his vigorous administration. The East India Company Proprietors entitled to vote numbered now 1800, each possessed of at least £1000 stock. Lord Derby summed up their duties and privileges thus: 'They receive the dividends upon their stock, and elect the members of the Court of Directors.' They also attended ceremonial dinners.

The Directors theoretically still possessed unlimited power, except that the Board of Control might overrule them. This exception, so important, was reinforced by the Board of Control's power of 'secret' communications with the Indian Government. The President of the Board was in the Cabinet, a precursor of the Secretary of State of post Mutiny times. 'Thus the Court of Directors was tied hand and foot by the Board, which signified the President, while he in turn signified the Government or Crown.'[1] The system lasted a few years longer (till alarm and indignation over the Mutiny made the Company's end inevitable), only because Dalhousie, unlike Wellesley, always treated his nominal chiefs with courtesy. Even when matters were strained, he kept his dignity.[2]

He had first to become master in his own household. History does *not* repeat itself; yet British-Indian history seems to possess a static quality. We see, with deep variations yet with striking repetition of mood and action, resemblances in Wellesley, Dalhousie, Curzon; similarly we see crises and oppositions recur. The quarrel of Dalhousie and Napier appears a parallel to that of Curzon and Kitchener. If Wellesley also did not quarrel with his own military power, that was because it was largely represented by his brother.

Dalhousie's Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, from old scars that had changed his physiognomy or warped his physical efficiency, had gone far towards realising Tod's famous description of the Mewar chief who was' 'a fragment of a warrior.' But his energy, fire, and egoism flared as destructively and grandly as ever:

'He is wonderfully well preserved for a man of sixty-seven, still more so when it is recollected what a life of hardships he has led, what climates he has braved, how riddled and chopped to pieces with balls and bayonets and sabre wounds he is. His hair is now quite gray; and allowing it to grow as it will, he combs it back straight off his forehead to the back of his head. Under bushy eyebrows gleam a pair of piercing and a brilliant eyes....His nose, highly aquiline by nature, was made still more so by a bullet at Busaco, which went in at his right cheek through his nose, shattering it as it passed....Sir Charles's manner is peculiarly young and gay. He is full of anecdote, such as his varied life was likely to supply; full of fun and full of cleverness. I never had a more agreeable inmate in my house' (Lord Dalhousie).

Since Cornwallis's time we have heard the constant grumbling of civilian and military that one service got all the jobs and honours. This ever-present squabble was renewed with particular fierceness, John Lawrence and his friends 'grousing' that only 'a red coat' was considered, Napier furious at the all-encroaching civilians. He said he would rather by far have been Governor of the Punjab, the province whose frontier fortresses peered towards those Central Arian plains where England and India (it was held) must grapple one day in the world's mightiest struggle, the rehearsal of Ragnarok and Armageddon. The dominant school of thought was divided as to whether it were better to await Russia behind strong natural walls, already British, or to annex Afghanistan, press boldly on, and walls, bring the Muscovite

to bay in his own deserts. Napier preferred the latter course; there were no limits to the regions into which he would march devastatingly. He found the new Governor-General utterly unawake to his chances and duties:

'I like this young man, for he is seemingly a good fellow, but he has no head for governing this empire and drawing forth all its wondrous resources! What the Koh-i-noor is among diamonds, India is among nations. Were I emperor of India for twelve years, she should be traversed by railroads and have her rivers bridged; her seat of government at Delhi, or Meerut, or Shimla, or Allahabad. No Indian prince should exist. The Nizam should be no more heard of, Nepaul would be ours, and an ague fit should become the courtly imperial sickness at Constantinople, while the Emperor of Russia and he of China should never get their pulses below 100!'

'Would that I were king of India! I would make Muscowa and Pekin shake....The five rivers and the Punjab, the Indus and Scinde, the Red Sea and Malta! what a chain of lands and waters to attach England to India! Were I king of England I would, from the palace of Delhi, thrust forth a clenched fist in the teeth of Russia and France. England's fleet should be all in all in the West, and the Indian army all in all in the East. India should not belong another day to the "ignominious tyrants," nor should it depend upon opium sales, but on an immense population well employed in peaceful pursuits. She should suck English manufactures up her great rivers, and pour down those rivers her own varied products.'

He raved at the civilian Government of the Punjab, and those incompetent Lawrences. He found Dalhousie 'as weak as water and as vain as a pretty woman or an ugly man.'

Napier inhabited a cinema world of his own creation. Everywhere, he roared, revolt and war were preparing. Gulab Singh was gathering for an invasion of British India, the Sikhs were casting cannon daily in the jungles and hiding them in holes. Mutiny, mutiny—it was being concerted on all sides, and anyone but these fools who were ruining India could have heard its mutterings. As for his own strategy, it was superbly simple. He thought in fifties, apparently; he would, if given his way, have placed 50,000 men on the Narmada, 50,000 on the Brahmaputra, 50,000 beyond the Satlej. Then, when

ready, he would overrun Afghanistan and Southern China, and parcel them out among his legions. A war of acrimonious papers was waged between him and the Governor-General, with the Lawrences writing to the latter, sometimes with contempt, sometimes in wrath. John wrote sceptically of the wounderful Sind methods which were always being flung at his head:

'What a system for such a man as Sir Charles to advocate! Judicial—you flogged and fined up to 500 rupees without record or power of appeal. I fear some of your men must have done much harm. There was Mr.—under me in the Jullandur who had been in Scinde, and I saw some terrible cases of oppression by him in this way, to which I speedily put a stop....'

'To suppose that a man ignorant of the manners, customs, habits, and language of a people, with untrained men under him, could really have governed a country as he thinks he did Scinde, seems to me an impossibility. He has always had one great advantage, namely, that he tells his own story. A man may make a good many mistakes, and still be a better ruler than an Ameer of Scinde.'

The last sentence hits the nail squarely. Napier's despotism had been experienced by a people used to caprice and certain of one thing only, that man was born to oppression as the sparks fly upward.

As for Napier's suspicion of mutiny all around, in 1850 alarm was caused by rumour that a Sikh regiment had refused *batta* for its share in putting down a trivial rebellion. The Governor-General enquired, and learnt that what happened was that they had refused to take 'bloodmoney' for fighting against their own countrymen. 'They said they had done their duty and were content with that they had received.'[3] Marvelling, he dismissed the incident as 'highly creditable.' The final storm came over this *batta* business, which from first to last has raised so many tumults in India. Early in 1850 Napier, with the excuse that Dalhousie was then at sea, on his own authority cancelled a regulation disallowing certain special grants for dearness of provisions. When corrected he stuck to his huns, asserted a right to have so acted and his intention to repeat the action if he saw necessity. The Governor-General wrote to Sir John Hobhouse, President of Board of Control: 'I have been exceedingly vexed, and with reason.' The war continued. Napier put in memorandums, one of which his opponent

characterised privately as 'the most discreditable paper that ever was traced by the pen of a public man.' Napier proceeded to accuse the Governor-General of 'most extraordinary and most disingenuous' reasoning. He resigned, and left his command in December, 1850, going home to die, but to achieve in posthumous publications an explosion hardly less than those which had accompanied him through life. Especially was it believed that he had foreseen the Mutiny; and his countrymen, who naturally admired the old hero, set him on the same plane of exalted esteem as Nelson, Wellington, and Lord Roberts.

Napier asserted that princes regarded us with 'venomous hatred;' and in this, as in his assertions of mutiny everywhere, there was enough of truth. There were disquieting incidents in a number of native regiments. But it is certain that his random and abounding accusations of disaffection everywhere and in everyone had behind them no genuine prescience. He threw such a cloud of missiles that some hit some mark. A far more striking example of prophecy was Henry Lawrence's playful forcecast[4] written in 1842, which even to details, as in its prediction of events at Delhi and at 'meerut itself, at all times unquiet,' reads like a forgery composed after 1857. John also, in his parting shot[5] at his adversary, showed that the gift of prophecy was in the family:

'I think poor Charlie Napier will probably make an ass of himself in his posthumous work. Like Falstaff's which bore so large a proportion in his daily expenditure compared with bread, there will be in Napier's work very much about himself, and little about India. He was so eaten up with passion and prejudice that his really good qualities had not fair play.'

In 1842, when the title of Nawab of Surat was abolished, Lord Auckland declared his intention.

'To persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are at the same time scrupulously maintained,'

words which Lord Dalhousie echoed early:

'I take this opportunity of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful

opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves.'

He changed the map, with a speed and thoroughness no campaign had equalled.

He was, however not quite the sweeping annexationist he is usually made out. He made attempts to distinguish between States possessed of independent or quasi-independent power before the Company's rise to paramountcy, and those which were its creation. The right of adoption was disallowed to the latter class;[6] if their rulers died without male heirs of the body, they were held to have 'lapsed' to the Company. Under this ruling, a number of important States were gathered in, one after another, till Indian opinion thought the foreigner looked on sovereignty as a tree whose fruits must all ultimately fall to his basket.

The story Satara's annexation has been told too fully for effectiveness in a wordy, cantankerous book,[7] hard to read. Major Basu's version is, however amply in accord with contemporary British testimony, and, despite his silly trick of digging at the word 'Christian' on every page, almost in every paragraph, is adequate polemic and a case hard to dispose of.

Elphinstone and others had used the Satara Raja, at the time of the last war with the Peshwas, as a means to localise and lessen the campaign and our enemies. There had been previous communication between the Raja and the British; and there is some reason to believe that the Raja understood that he had been promised complete restoration to the power once his ancestor Sivaji's. On the other hand, the British regarded him as a helpless tool, almost a prisoner, of the Peshwa. But they found him a valuable tool, and consciousness of this fact rankled afterwards. The course pursued may be indicated by a quotation from Thomas Munro's letter to Elphinstone, March 29, 1818:[8] 'The limits of his principality may be left undefined for the present. He should be required to summon Bajee Rao and his principal chiefs to his presence, and in case of their not obeying to proclaim Bajee Rao and all who adhered to him rebels.' This the Raja, whose person was wrested from the Peshwa at the battle of Ashti, did, and it helped to huddle the war to a finish.

He was disappointed in the extent of the principality awarded him, though the British—who soon forgot his very real service in denouncing the Peshwa as an unfaithful servant who had forfeited all right to obedience himself, and underrated his assistance as much as he overrated it—considered their action generous, the giving of something to one whose own power to obtain it was nil. He was left also with a genuine grievance in the matter of certain *jagirs* where he was promised feudal suzerainty, a promise which lapsed by some of the accidents due to changing personnel and policies in an administration that was manned from far overseas. Over his disappointment, and especially this definite loss, he broobed.

Pratap Singh was a ruler of exceptional ability and probity. The main complaint his English overlords had against him was one inherent in geographical conditions, and one which in times less unscrupulously realist and imperialist would have been ignored. It was exposed in a minute (January 30, 1837) by Sir Robert Grant,[9] Governor of Bombay, after the trouble had started:

'An opinion is now very commonly entertained that the erection of Sattara into a separate principality was a mistaken proceeding. It is at least clear that this principality includes the finest part of the Deccan, and by its position most awkwardly breaks the continuity of the British territory. There are those, therefore who will hail the present crisis as affording an excellent opportunity of repairing the error alluded to, by pulling down the inconvenient pageant we have erected.'

Of particular annoyance to the British authorities was the habit of Hindus who had widows they wished to burn, of taking them into Satara territory, where the anti-suttee regulation did not hold, much as an interrupted prize-fight in old times would move across a country boundary.

Grant's minute contained another passage which deeply interested the surviving princes when Parliament incautiously ordered the Satara papers to be published:

'I am aware that it is the probable course, or, if I may so speak, the natural history of such an Empire as our in India, that it gradually absorbs all the petty and dependent states attached to it, nor is there any reason to suppose that Satara will not at length share the common fate.'

He noted at the same time that the Portuguese possessions were 'absolutely valueless, except as the shattered and fading memorials of past glory; to us they are most inconvenient neighbours, by breaking the continuity of our dominions, and by furnishing in very supposable cases rallying points for the discontent and disaffection of our own subjects....certainly it is our obvious policy to seize the earliest opportunity of barring up this most inconvenient and possibly mischievous inlet.'

In December, 1835, the East India Company took the exceptional step of sending Pratap Singh a jewelled sword worth £ 3000 for his 'exemplary fulfilment of the duties' of 'his elevated situation,' which had filled their minds with 'feelings of unqualified satisfaction and pleasure.' He did not receive the sword, however for early in 1836 his Resident reported that he believed the Raja was trying to seduce British sepoys stationed in Satara from their allegiance. The Bombay authorities prosecuted the enquiry 'with an eagerness that embarrassed the Government both at Calcutta and at home.' After close examination of the evidence, Lord Auckland's Government decided (1837) that there was 'little or nothing in the evidence recorded....to inculpate the Raja.' He should, however be warned that suspicions had arisen, and advised to conduct himself warily to prevent such episodes, painful for both sides. Then the business might be dropped. Grant was not willing to drop it, and did not drop it. But he died, 1838, and others had to continue his researches. Further accusations of anti-Company intrigue with neighbouring Rajas, notably of Jodhpur, and with the Portuguese, were brought against the Satara ruler. The evidence did not seem considerable to many contemporary British officers who deserve respect. The Raja used titles which indicated that he considered himself the head of the Maratha people, and in general rather more important than the paramount Power considered him. But in India (where titles had always been cheap, and the Company had never scrupled to go on giving them to Nawabs and Rajas who had been stripped of every shred of power and territory) this one proven offence (if offence it was) did not justify annexation. In 1839 the Bombay Government:

> 'took the singularly infelicitous step of inviting the accused prince to acknowledge the truth of the accusation, and renew in more stringent

> terms the treaty alleged to be broken. Intimation was given that, on his failing to criminate himself, he would be dethroned. The terms were indignantly rejected, and the dethroned prince went into exile.'[11]

That is, he preferred to be dismissed, rather than accept pardon for actions that had not been proved or even examined in fair court. He resided at Benares, until his death in 1847, conducting a campaign of protest both in India and England, with many British sympathisers, both soldier and civilian, and regarded as a martyr by Indian opinion. He quite possibly was guilty—he and the Portuguese may even have come to know Sir Robert Grant's statesmanlike plans for them, and have taken counsel together, as threatened men sometimes do; and it is very probable that he was not an enthusiastic subject of the Company, or sure of his own future under their expansive mood. But there is no justification for the way our historians assume a doubtful case as proved, as when the *Oxford History of India* compresses his story into;

> 'the Raja of Satara....engaged in a long-continued series of foolish treasonable intrigues with the Portuguese and other people. The Bombay government made every effort to convince the Raja of his folly, and gave him opportunities for repentance; but he refused to listen, and was necessarily deposed, his brother taking his place.'[12]

That brother, Apa Sahib, a worthless debauchee, had been adequately described by Grant Duff in 1819: 'an obstinate, ill-disposed lad, with very low vicious habits, which all the admonition of the Raja cannot get the better of.' He was, however amenable, and he introduced some needed measures, such as the abolition of suttee. He died in 1848, on his death-bed adopting a son and successor. The Company were now in the full tide of their annexation-on-any-pretext fever, and Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, had already sent Dalhousie, newly arrived and with his mind still fluid on the Satara business, 'this obvious incitement to annexation:'[13]

'..The death of the ex-Raja of Satara certinly comes at a very opportune moment. The reigning Raja is, I hear, in very bad health, and it is not at all impossible we may soon have to decide upon the fate of his territory. I have a very strong opinion that on the death of the present prince without a son, no adoption should be permitted, and this petty principality should be merged in the British Empire.'

Satara was annexed, and the adoption swept aside, a blow to such reputation for straightforwardness as the Company still possessed:[14]

'I do not remember ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone so shocked as he was at this proceeding. The treatment of the Sattara sovereignty as a jageer, over which we had claims of feudal superiority he regarded as a monstrous one; but any opinion of the injustice done to this family was subordinate to the alarm which he felt at the dangerous principles which were advanced, affecting every sovereign state in India.'

The Satara family was the family of Sivaji, with peculiar claims to Maratha and Hindu reverence. The testimony of Sir John Low, a member of Dalhousie's Council, may serve to show how deeply such Indian opinion as existed was wounded:

'The confidence of our Native Allies was a good deal shaken by the annexation of Satara....When I went to Malwa, in 1850 where I met many old acquaintances, whom I had known when a very young man and over whom I held no authority. I found these old acquaintances speak out much more distinctly as to their opinion of the Satara case; so much so that I was, on several occasions, obliged to check them. It is remarkable that every native who ever spoke to me respecting the annexation of Satara, asked precisely the same question: "What crime did the late Rajah commit that his country should be seized by the Company?"'

It was held, soundly enough, that the merits or demerits of Apa Sahib or the boy he adopted were not relevant. The only question was, Had he been the Company's faithful vassal? He notoriously had—he lacked his predecessor's self-respect as conspicuously as he lacked his other qualities. The matter continued to exacerbate both British and Indian minds, and must be considered one of many incidents that forced on the Mutiny. When that event came, this affair had been ceaselessly agitated for twenty years, with much ensuing resentment. Native India thought the annexation high-handed in the extreme, and despaired of seeing *any* ancient rights or engagements respected.

The last chapter was written in the Mutiny. The agent who had spent fourteen years of exile in London trying to get justice for the family, fled from Satara with a price on his head. There was

disaffection and a tiny rising, which cost the lives of four native policemen. Then a group of over twenty—which included a son and another relative of the lawyer who had caused so much trouble, both through the House of Commons and in India—were blown from guns.

Sambalpur, a gain of only 4693 square miles and a £ 7000 revenue, lapsed in 1849. Since 'a pestilential climate, with no roads or comforts,' it was left to Indian subordinates, who raised extra money by a 25 per cent increase of the land tax, an increase doubled in 1854. Complaints went unheeded. In 1857, mutineers wrested from a British prison the nearest heir to the lapsed sovereignty, who had been serving a life sentence since 1840. His people welcomed him back, but he led a desperate hunted life, with one interval of renewed imprisonment, until caught finally in 1864.

Karauli, a Rajput State, escaped annexation (1852), largely because Henry Lawrence, then Agent for Rajputana, pleaded on its behalf; partly, too in deference to Indian reverence for the Rajput clan and name. Dalhousie wrote:

'It is not worth creating any alarm about; and perhaps after all it may be politic to let alone these Rajput states, even though we have strict right on our side....

'....I have received a letter from Colonel Low, in which he urges the *policy* of recognising the adoption with reference to Rajputs' feelings, so earnestly that I think it right to send you an extract from his letter. He is a temperate and safe man, and his views will probably incline you still more to the liberal view which I have anticipated that the Court would take. On the question of *right*, I would not have deferred to him; on question of *policy* as regards Rajputana I do not wish to insist upon my opinion against his.'

The Court of Directors demurred, but in the end Karauli was spared. It remained steadfastly loyal in the storm, so helpful that its Chief's salute was raised to 17 guns, and his State's debt of £ 11,000 remitted. Rajput States stood fast in the Mutiny. The Rajupts had come under British protection in the main voluntarily, to escape from Maratha subjugation; to this day a steady regard has 'persisted towards them from us, in which Tod's enthusiastic book has helped. The Marathas, those stiff opponents have been less fortunate, and it is only now that esteem is belatedly growing up.

Two Maratha States, Jhansi and Nagpur, lapsed in 1854. The sequel of Jhansi's annexation, is beautiful young Rani's 'inveteracy' during the Mutiny, is known to everyone. Against the annexation of Nagpur, historically one of the leading four Maratha States, Low wrote two desperately earnest minutes of protest. But Dalhousie 'had no difficulty' (with the Directors and himself) 'in proving' that Nagpur was a dependent State created after its ruler's share in the last Maratha War. Facts, too, were against Nagpur; it consisted of no less than 80,000 square miles, whose annexation.

> 'would not only give the Company a revenue of forty lakh of rupees, but it would consolidate their scattered dominions, and enclose Hyderabad in a ring fence. The road between Calcutta and Bombay would lie almost entirely in British territory, and, in short, "the possession of Nagpur would combine our military strength, would enlarge our commercial resources, and would materially tend to consolidate our power."[16]

The settlement, as commonly happened, was marred by unfortunate incident.[17]

The Nizam, who passed into 'a ring fence,' had a somewhat narrow escape from elimination. His dominions had never been much more happily governed than Oudh. But there was nothing between him and the paramount Power except money differences and debts, and the Governor-General was a man just and scrupulous, far inferior to Wellesley in ability to work himself up into passionate acceptance of his own case; he could see other points of view:

'The monthly subsidy for which the Resident maintains a perpetual wrestle with the Diwan, and which transforms the representative of the British Government, by turns, into an imfortunate creditor, and a bailiff in execution, is the pay of the contingent. Were that source of demand and dispute once adjusted, there is no Native State in India whose relations with the British Government would, as far as we know, be more friendly and unruffled. The Nizam has been our ally for much more than half a century. This Government disclaims not only the intention but the wish of doing any act by which the independence of the Nizam can be in any way impaired.'[19]

The districts known as the Berars were put under British control, their revenues to be taken in settlement of claims and for payment of

the subsidiary force, all surplus to be paid to the Nizam's treasury.[19] The Nizam remained nominally their sovereign. In this manner, Dalhousie saved the Company's ancient ally, and re-established him as what he is today the only genuinely independent prince in India.

Dalhousie's reign was a crowded season of removing anomalies and of unifying and consolidating India. Nationalist opinion today is not sore about his actions, for the princes seem a survival adverse to the modernist dreams of a United Independent India. It would rejoice, had he gone further, and absorbed every State. But we are concerned only with the effect in that vanished semi-feudal age, an age of European princedoms such as we have forgotten entirely, and of public opinion everywhere which thought the people largely negligible, and only aristocratic 'rights' important. Some outbreak was certain, unless all-Indians were willing to be relegated to inferiority for ever.

Yet with a State that was not Maratha and had unquestioned title-deeds of internal independence, Dalhousie could be forbearing, as we have seen. In 1852 a Muslim State, Bhawalpur, was allowed to have a disputed succession, which next year passed into civil war, resulting in the rebel's victory and enthronement. The Governor-General rejected John Lawrence's strong plea for interference, and was a wise Gallio; the troubles did not concern British India, unless fighting slopped over the border. This incident[20] shows how much rope was lift native states within their limits; it is only by degrees that their rulers, long afterwards, have been told that they must not torture to death, or even inflict capital punishment too readily and capriciously. For example, the next Nawab of Bhawalpur, after Dalhousie's time, was allowed to execute three uncles, who might have cherished kingly ambitions.

Dalhousie's quick humanity made him protest beyond strict political rights, against suttee, which persisted on a shocking scale in some of the Rajput State. But the most ancient and inveterately traditional of them all, Udaipur persisted in these sacrifices at its rulers' funerals (in 1861 the last *legal* widow-burning in India outside Nepal disgraced it).[21] Though the Governor-General could not coerce Udaipur, when suttee occurred in Dungapur, a Rajput State temporarily under British regency, he treated it as a crime, and punished it far more heavily than it is punished today.

We come to the last chapter but one of Oudh's misrule and misery. We have seen its Nawabs taken from nominal dependence on the Moghul to dependence on the Company: tossed a province and new subjects by Hastings. in the subjugation of the Rohillas: robbed by authority and without authority: made 'kings' by Lord Hasting: forced by Auckland to accept a treaty whose annulment was concealed from them: subjected by successive rulers to that iniquity which revolts us today 'unilateral' denunciation distortion and revision of solemn treaties:

'Most assuredly Warren Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings and Lord Auckland, would never have acted in private life as they did in the capacity of governor-general towards prostrate Oude.'[22]

Under the aegis of British protection, Lucknow was infested for close on a century with pimps and panders, musicians, robbers and Europeans. Contemporary accounts show a populace armed and swaggering, and crowded streets where 'elephants and camels are the common labourers,'blocking traffic. The buffalo-hide shield, studded with brass knobs, is flung up on the left shoulder: fiercely-moustached Rajputs and Pathans, black-bearded Mussalmans, 'self-sufficient citizens,' flaunt matchlock and tulwar. Midway ran the silvery streak of the river, between sprawling glittering palaces and those parks which still make Lucknow uniquely beautiful.

'Elephants in scores, tigers, rhinoceroses, antelopes, cheetahs or hunting-leopards, lynxes, Persian cats, Chinese dogs, might all be seen sunning themselves in this park, either in their cages, or stretched listlessly on the grass, as commonly as sheep and cows in an English meadow.'[23]

The visitor was 'transported suddenly into some of the scenes....read in childish history and novels.' Such lunacy, even in the East, would have been swept away by revolution long before, but for the terrible puissance outside Oudh's borders, protecting its rulers.

Oudh, nevertheless, remained important. It had been loyal, slavishly so, to its engagements, and the paramount Power had no legal excuse for annexation. It remained, a vast and awkward gap in the Company's dominions. Larger than Switzerland, Saxony and

Wurtemberg together, 'stripped as it has been of its rupees and its most valuable provinces by successive governors-general, Oude is still more populous than any of the German states....except Prussia and Austria'[24] But at last something had to be done, within or without the cover of treaty rights. In 1847 Lord Hardinge warned the King that he must mend his atrocious government, or the British Government would take steps to see it mended. In 1848 Sleeman was sent to Lucknow by Dalhousie as Resident, to undertake 'the reconstruction of a great, rich and oppressed country....a noble as well as an arduous task....;'[25] in 1849 he was instructed to make a tour and report on conditions. He found them fantastic in iniquity. His least trouble was with infanticide, the common practice of the Rajputs in the kingdom, practised with the indecency that so easily goes with ruthlessness. Yes, his colloquists told him, of course they killed their female children; they buried them alive, of after smothering them with the first faces passed from the bowels, and on the thirteenth or fourteenth day afterwards the priest came and ate a meal in the room which had been both birthplace and tomb, thereby becoming a 'sineater.'[26] Lucknow, that 'overgrown city,' was 'a perpetual turmoil of processions, illuminations, and festivities.'[28] The king had settled down to a continuous Eisteddfod, his sole companions fiddlers and buffoons, his ambition 'limited to the reputation of being the best drum-beater, dancer, and poet of the day,'[28] aspirations admirable in private individual but out of place in a ruler, and in any case not likely to appeal to an Indian official. Most of his fellow-artistes were Doms, outcastes of the most scavenging and despised kind. Sleeman's sombre narrative is lit up with humorous interludes, all verging on grimness. There were, for example, the activities of 'the King of the Fairies' (*djinns*), an enterprising Muslim who precipitated by means of a false ceiling messages from elfland, enjoining gifts to that region through himself, its representative.

The King's pastimes needed money, to procure which royal forces scoured the land. The peasantry grew swift-footed and long-sighted. They sometimes hit back, Oudh being full of sepoys, 'the great nursery of soldiers for the Company's army. The forces of the Bengal presidency come almost exclusively from Oudh.' But these armed groups were an added element to the universal lawlessness. Sleeman was often assured that annexation would be welcomed, if there were any way of evading our dreaded courts. In this desire he sympathised

deeply, but, like others, unavailingly; when Oudh was ultimately annexed, little notice was paid to his witness that out legal methods wrought more harm than all other evil agencies together.[29]

'The quality of testimony, no doubt, like that of every other commodity, deteriorates under a system, which renders the good of no more value *in exchanges* than the bad. The formality of our courts here, as everywhere else, tends to impair, more or less, the quality of what they receive? The simplicity of courts, composed of little village communities and elders, tends, on the contrary, to improve the quality of the testimony they get; and in India, it is found to be best in the isolated hamlets of hills and forests, where men may be made to do almost anything rather than *tell a lie.* A Marhatta Pandit, in the valley of the Nerbudda, once told me, that it was almost impossible to teach a wild Gond of the hills and jungles the *occasional* value of a lie! It is the same with the Tharoos and Booksas, who are, almost exclusively, the cultivators of the Oude Tarae forest, and with the peasantry of the Himmalaya chain of mountains, before they have come much in contact with people of the plains, and become subject to the jurisdiction of our courts. These courts are, everywhere, our, *weak point* in the estimation of our subjects; and they should be, everywhere, simplified, to meet the wants and wishes of so simple a people.'

To sum up:

> 'A want of sympathy or fellow-feeling between the governing and governed is common in all parts of India, but in no part that I have seen is it so marked as in Oude. The officers of the Government delight in plundering the peasantry, and upon every local Governor who kills a landholder of any mark, rewards and honours are instantly bestowed, without the slightest inquiry as to the cause or mode. They know that no inquiry will be made, and therefore kill when they can; no matter how, or for what cause?'[30]

Yet the region tormented with this madness was nobly endowed:

> 'I have seen no soil finer; the whole plain of which it is composed is capable of tillage; it is everywhere intersected by rivers, flowing from the snowy chain of the Himmalaya, which keep the moisture near the surface at all times, without cutting up any of the land on their borders into deep ravines; it is studded with finest groves and single trees, as much as the lover of the picturesque could wish; it has the boldest and most industrious peasantry in India, and a landed aristocracy too

> strong for the weak and wretched government; it is, for the most part, well cultivated; yet with all this, one feels, in travelling over it as if he was moving among a people suffering under incurable physical diseases, from the atrocious crimes everyday perpetrated with impunity, and the numbers of suffering and innocent people who approach him in the hope of redress, and are sent away with despair.'[31]

Sleeman was strongly against annexation, and warned Lord Dalhousie in writing 'that the annexation of Oude would cost the British power more than the value of ten such kingdoms, and would inevitably lead to a mutiny of the Sepoys,' a prediction he died just too soon to see fulfilled. He held, as others of his way of thinking did, that the native states were 'breakwaters, and when they are all swept away, we shall be left to the mercy of our native army, which may not always be sufficiently under our control.' Also, that they had an educational value; Indians, looking first on the quiet and security pervading the Company's dominions and then on the lunatic caprice and misery of such States as Oudh, would feel how lucky those in the former were. He knew, too, how valuable as a safety-valve native India was: the ambitious and energetic, who could serve only as subordinates on a pittance and without self-respect in British India, here could rise to places of responsibility or, at any rate, power and esteem. Those 'whose habits unfitted them' to occupy niches of humility and lowly service could here swagger with tulwar and matchlock.

But his report was too convincing, and was borne out by the Governor-General's own experience. In December, 1851, Dalhousie journeyed on Oudh's borders, in the North-West Provinces, then under Thomason's beneficent rule, and noted:

'The district profits considerably by its proximity to Oudh, since the disturbances in that unfortunate land very frequently produce an emigration of good cultivators from some village that can stand squeezing no more. The other day the whole of the cultivators of one village, two hundred in number, fled into the Shahjehanpur district, and were all eagerly hired by the zamindars at once.'[32]

'All day I heard a heavy cannonading going on, and marvelled to think that we should be able to hear the artillery practice all the way from Cawnpore. Before the evening I discovered it was our neighbours in Oudh collecting their revenue! Nothing more common, the people say, all along this border.'[33]

Yet with amazing patience Dalhousie procrastinated. It is an example of the queer illogicality with which British Indian history is written that the annxation of Oudh has been so often reprobated, when actions flatly unethical are glossed over. This is because the Mutiny followed. There is not much open to criticism in the Oudh annexation, details apart; and as to details, 'it is impossible but that offences should come,' and it is the historian's business not to strees the unavoidable that is also trivial.

In 1854 Outram was sent to Lucknow as Resident. He reported that there had been no improvement. His account, 'excellent, clear, concise, temperate in its tone, and decisive in its conclusion,' reached Dalhousie at Coonoor in the Nilgiris, March 15, 1855; Oudh's administration was an orgy of massacre and corruption set to music.

Even yet Dalhousie pondered and hesitated. Wellesley's treaty of 1810; a gross injustice at the time and in its attendant bullying, now stood the erring kingdom in good stead; it enjoined that reforms must be carried out by the Nawab's own officers, and Dalhousie believed in promises being kept. On January 2, 1856, a Court of Directors,' decision reached him; he was to offer the King a kind of 'Vatican, sovereignty, the title of King, adequate funds, and full jurisdiction short of death over the Lucknow palace, parks (and menageries). Outram, who had been recalled to Calcutta for conference, was sent back to Lucknow, reaching it January 30, with a British brigade close behind. He went to the palace, to find its guns dismounted in mourning, and a disarmed guard of honour saluting with empty hands signifying helplessness. The King placed his turban between his hands, and broke down when reading the treaty he was to sign. Given a few days' grace he refused to accept the new position (February 7), was deposed, and went to Calcutta, where he resided, agitating and protesting, one more centre of pity and resentment.

Dalhousie's pledge of generous grants to those brought low was ignored, and in Canning's brief pre-Mutiny rule they were 'reduced to great pecuniary straits, with all the humiliations attendant upon such a state.'[34] Those who had sung and revelled starved; and with them starved royalty and nobility. An unsympathetic Chief Commissioner succeeded Outram the Resident, and chose to occupy a palace

'expressly set aside for the King's family.' Oudh was flooded with disbanded troops, under a new regime in which robbery was liable to heavy penalities. Not less than 40,000 Company's sepoys had their homes in the province, and they and their families, a large fraction of the total population, were troubled in their minds.

Dalhousie's words in his Diary[35] are movingly sincere:

> 'I believe the work to be just, practicable, and right. With that feeling on my mind, and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty, I approach the execution of the duty gravely; and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt.'

It seems hard, after careful weighing of three-quarters of a century of criticism that has followed the event, to see how he could have acted other than he did. But the mischief arose from the fact that now Indians, except within a restricted and threatened area, were debarred from hope of any post, civil of military, of any importance. Tolerant of much misrule and misery (explained by religious philosophy, as these were), the people of India until recently never attached as much weight to actual material improvement as we have imagined. They could see only that a very rich province, long pillaged and longer coveted, had been swallowed up, and an ancient family exiled, 'who, whatever may have been their offences towards their own subjects, have not been unfaithful to the British Government.'[36] This claim, which to the Directors appeared a mainly formal one, to them was essential: if the British both annexed when there had been the test of strength in war, as with the Punjab, and when there had been nothing but decades of slavish submission, where did anyone stand? As for the sufferings under native rule, there were two sides to this question:[37]

General Lowe, whom I have always known as a most indulgent judge of native governments and an enemy to annexation.. used, in the particular case of Oude, to maintain that the people preferred their present misrule to our strict and meddling system, and the insolence and extortion of chuprassies and other petty officials; yet, after having been ten years and more Resident at Lucknow, he is now one of the most decided as to the impossibility of maintaining the present government. Sleeman (the most vehement advocate of annexation)[38] is said to be in general a still greater friend to native governments.'

However Oudh was annexed, and its teeming disorders dispersed rather than grappled with. As for the few surviving states, they drew into themselves, watchful, frightened, thinking such thoughts as even Englishmen have occasionally known:

> Another year! another deadly blow!
> Another mighty empire overthrown!
> And We are left, or shall be left, alone.'

Dalhousie ended other long-standing anomalies, as well as petty kingdom that had outlived their real independence. In 1852 he secured the Delhi heir-apparent's promise to leave his palace (which was wanted for British military uses) when he succeeded his father; and 'regretted that the silly sentimentality of the Court[39] interposed any impediment to taking the crown as well as the palace. 'We may doubt the wisdom of this yet further attenuation of a faded majesty venerated even in its relics; and again, may ponder, with the coming shadow of 1857 falling on our narrative. The same shadow falls with another name, the Peshwa's. He died, 1851, and the pension granted him by Malcolm was not renewed to his adopted son, the notorious Nana Sahib. Dalhousie argued:

'In thirty-three years the Peshwa received the enormous sum of more than two and a half million sterling. He had no charges to maintain, no sons of his own, and has bequeathed twenty-eight lakhs to his family. Those who remain have no claim, whatever on the consideration of the British Government. They have no claim on its charity, because the income left to them is amply sufficient for them.'

We may envy the people of India, and wish that the same reasoning might be used of British pensions granted for events in the far past and continued age after age. There seems no cause to cavil at it. In 1855, the Nawab of the Carnatic died, and the title was discontinued, his uncle, who succeeded, being now styled merely Prince of Arcot and becoming a nobleman. The same year, the 'rajas' of Tanjore died out, as their power had died long ago. In this, as in the Nawab's case, Dalhousie intended a generous financial settlement. It was not his fault that the usual thing happened to the Ranis' personal property. One by one, princedoms whose ghosts had long haunted the Indian scene were exorcised and vanished.

A major campaign outside India was the second Burmese War, 1852. Frontier incidents had been accumulating since the first war; and in November, 1851, the foreign merchants of Rangoon made a detailed complaint of grievances. Dalhousie sent Commodore Lambert to express his 'confidence' that the Court of Ava would right these, and would disclaim breaches of treaty. A party of naval officers (January 6)went to the Rangoon Governor's house; told to wait outside they pressed on to the foot of the steps, where they were informed that His Excellency was sleeping and could not be disturbed. A long stand in hot sun tried their tempers, as did the discovery that His Excellency was amusedly watching through a lattice. Lambert in reprisal seized a vessel belonging to the Burmese King and blockaded the rivers. Dalhousie remained patient, and sent a second letter. The Commodore's ship, bearing it, was fired on, but easily silenced its assailants. John Lawrence meanwhile had asked, 'Why did you send a Commodore to Burma if you wanted peace'? and Dalhousie himself remorsefully admitted (January 23, 1852) that 'these Commodores are too combustible for negotiations.

At length a thrasonical answer arrived from the Rangoon Governor,

> 'commanding the forces, and appointed to go and rule a large territory and brave army after due prostration at the royal feet, and after taking counsel with Meng Tarahgyee Phooyah, who is all-powerful Lord of the Universe, Master of the Tshattang elephant, and all White Elephants, and Lord of Lord, he who is like unto the Lotus-flower.'

The British officers were reproved for having invaded his privacy while he was sleeping, and for having been drunk when they did it.

Dalhousie's next communication went to the point. By April 1, 'if, untaught by former experience, forgetful of the irresistible power of the British arms..the King of Ava shall unwisely refuse the just and lenient conditions which are now set before him, the British Government will have no alternative but immediate war.'

War followed; it had minor setbacks, but no repetition of the mistakes of the former war. At first the British suffered more from pineapples, which were one hundred for a shilling, than from Burmese missiles. The Shwe-Dagon pagoda, in Rangoon, was stormed, April 14, 1852; other pagodas and strong points were stormed, till in October

the Burmese generalissimo, son of the Bandula who had fought so well in the first war, was ordered to appear before the Golden Foot in woman's dress,[40] for having been defeated. He preferred surrender to the British.

The war ended without treaty, the British annexing Pegu and the Burmese King, who explained that he was not at liberty to sign away territory, formally notifying the invaders (June, 1853) that he would allow them to remain in his country, and forbid his generals to molest them. His people, cut off from the sea, were almost starving; he asked that the Irawadi blockade might be lifted, and free trade established between his nation and the British.

The war had been marred by one sinister incident. The 38th Native Infantry, afraid of losing caste, had 'respectfully but firmly' refused to go to Burma by sea, though willing to march anywhere by land. It was technically within its rights, and the Governor-General acted with characteristic humanity:

'I could not fail to remember the melancholy incident in the same station of Barrackpore on the same occasion of the march of troops for a Burmese war, when from some misunderstanding and want of judicious and temperate handing the Native troops were at length massacred as mutineers. Bearing that sad scene in mind, I felt that while I should never advise the government to permit open disobedience of its orders, to truckle to its sepoys, or in any the slightest degree to compromise its own authority; yet if it were practicable to modify existing orders, so as to avert an occasion which stupidity or error might make use of for a manifestation of discontent, or even of open mutiny, it would be a wise act for the government to avoid such occasion for misapprehension, and so to preserve the men from the certain consequences of their own folly'.

The battalion had declared its willingness to march; and 'we thought it right that they should march.' They marched, therefore though the hot weather had come, to Dacca, and relieved a less scrupulous unit there, which sailed for Burma.

Eversince the close of the second Sikh War, in which Dost Muhammad had attempted to wreak belated vengeance for his former sufferings at our hands, the question of an understanding with

Afghanistan had been pondered. John Lawrence, who wrote. 'The best attitude perhaps the only safe one, with Orientals, is that of complete superiority,' and; represented one attitude, that of standing on dignity for the Dost's impertinence in interfering in the Sikh campaign. The Dost answered this by suspicion; 'I know that the English will never forgive me.'

'I look upon a Sikh chief as in every respect a more honourable and trustworthy man than an Afghan. Falsehood and villainy are the natural characteristics of an Afghan, and their rulers are probably much worse than the majority of their people.'

'All thinking men would say that it must, indeed, be a terrible crisis—Russia must be a frightful foe—when the lords of the East—the English—backed by France and Turkey, hold out in this fashion the right hand of fellowship to Kabul!'[41]

Herbert Edwardes, the chief warden of the marches,[42] was the first who made negotiation possible. Of a frank and adventurous nature, he was ready to see unofficial emissaries. When a treaty was finally made, March, 1855, though Dalhousie preferred that John Lawrence should actually carry it through and sign it, the main credit was Edwardes's. It was perhaps fortunate that negotiations were not hustled through, but protracted until almost the eve of the Mutiny. Dost Muhammad in that immense upheaval kept to his side of the fence.

Next year (May 14, 1854) the Khan of Khelat was brought within the Indian system, and became a subsidised prince. The western frontier was now closed, except for the border tribes who kept it in a condition of constant petty warfare.

Inside India the Santal rebellion, 1855, at the time was taken as a portent, and aroused much of the alarm and savagery of repression which were to blaze out less than two years later. This was partly because it came so close to the capital. The Santals (Santhals), aborigines who in a state of nature live by the chase, a people of extreme simplicity and lovableness, were suffering (as they continue to suffer) from Hindu infiltration. This meant change of habits and a whole train of perplexities. Their lands became alienated, they were entangled in debts to people far cleverer than themselves. They were under foolish local officials, who would not help them: 'The facile

reply that the Santals should appeal to the civil courts, or prove their charges of oppression before the criminal courts, was the answer of the father who should offer his son a stone when he asked for bread.'[43] No one dreamed of insurrection by 'a race so gentle and harmless, with courts of justice ever open to them;' moreover, courts of British justice—which 'are open to everyone (like the Savoy Hotel).' Planters, who were having trouble with the Bengali peasant, praised these 'laborious and patient' people; railway contractors delighted in them. Then, without warning, a Santal inundation swept over the outlying regions of Bengal, reaching to within a hundred miles of Calcutta, cleaving open skulls of European and Indian alike, pouring out poisoned arrows, burning huts and bungalows. All ended, however as it was bound to end, in massacre and executions. The blood of the martyrs—of we may for a minute forget their wrong-doing and remember only that except by such an outbreak no redress could ever have come to them for mere grumbling and representation has never brought humanity anything—proved the seed of better conditions. Their land was made into a 'non-regulation' district, and they shared with the Punjab the privilege of exemption from the blessings of justice as dispensed in the law-courts, experiencing in their stead straightforward protection.

Dalhousie, like the rest of Calcutta, was deeply impressed by this sudden fire out of the heart of aboriginal darkness:

'This Santal outbreak has taught us a new and cogent lesson; and I trust very much that Her Majesty's ministers and those who talk of drawing troops from India so glibly and confidently will lay that lesson to heart.'

As these words show, a vague uneasiness was troubling men's minds; there was growing through many years an underground irritation of the sort that so often contributes to exceeding passion of anger, when at last its dimly suspected justifications seem to leap up in open menace. The irritation was felt by both sides. Its centres were in Oudh swarming with pillaged landowners and unemployed soldiery; in the, Marathas, who felt that Sivaji's family had been wronged, and their rightful Peshwa (by adoption of his predecessor) deprived of the pension which kept a memory of ancient grandeur alive; in Delhi, where an ancient family knew that their tenure of the palace which

was itself a city, within whose walls they could fool themselves that they were still regalities, was running out, and that a foreign soldiery would take their place there; and where ever (which was everywhere in North India—it is easy to see why South India was untouched by the Mutiny, which was as much outside its interests and passions as an outbreak in Poland or China, almost) European society had been exacerbated by the intense angers of the civilian-military quarrel which Napier had brought to a head.

In January, 1856, Lord Dalhousie went; but his going was followed by three events 'in rapid succession,'[44] all part of the swiftly rising rapids that were sweeping tranquil India to the catastrophe. An order was issued, July 25, 1856, which made all units liable for general service, beyond the seas as in India; henceforward, refusal for caste prejudices was mutiny pure and simple. War was declared against Persia, November 1, 1856; India was deprived of a large part of its shrunken forces, not long after public opinion had been disquieted by the Crimean War, in which the clash which government had anticipated for decades, with increasing apprehension and gravity, had come at last, and (rumour said) with not any great success to England. The Persian expedition, which was commanded by Outram and Havelock, won battles easily enough. But men remembered another war, that with Afghanistan, which arose from the same obsessing dread of Russia; that one also had begun with victories, over which a pack of fuss was made at the time, but had passed into overwhelming disaster. Many agreed with John Lawrence when he scoffed (January 30, 1857) at this eternal Russian bugbear: 'I believe there is no man now alive who will ever see a Russian army in India, and no Asiatic army could stand for a day before our troops in the open field. 'Again Indian troops were being sent far beyond their borders, to similar destruction! Moreover, India was left very low in British troops.

Lastly, on January 23, 1857, General Hearsey[45] (surely the most suggestive name that even a novelist could invent!) reported that there was 'an unpleasant feeling' about cartridges which the men believed were smeared with cow and pig lard. What followed is known to the world?

It is natural that we should look back on Dalhousie's reign as a time of territorial expansion. But it was also one of intense and

beneficent activity. James Thomason, perhaps the greatest of Indian provincial governors after Munro, ruled the North-West Provinces, 1843-53. Wise, patient, pacific, he gathered no laurels of war; but he won a personal regard from wilder spirits such as only Henry Lawrence won. His administration was looked on as mine whence the Punjab could 'dig' first rate men for its own more exciting service. Even to that promotion they went, however eagerly, yet with sorrow at parting from such a master; Thomason's farewell letter to Sir Richard Temple on going to the Lawrences, Temple wrote in his retirement, 'still shines like the evening star in my recollection.'[46]

Thomason moved continually about his province, always with a mind at leisure to listen and be interested,

> 'till at length there was hardly a place or a road in an area of 70,000 square miles, scarcely a clan or tribe in a population of 30 millions, with which he was not acquainted.'[47]

He was the bureaucrat at his best and noblest; a machine of ungrudging effort. He would;

> 'set himself laboriously to learn how each kind of complex business should be performed from beginning to end, from the lowest to the highest step; having done that, he would reduce all his knowledge to lucid statement, so that what had perhaps been hard to him might be made easy to others. When he had thus instructed his officers of all degrees, he was extraordinarily patient and watchful in seeing that they acted up to his instructions.'

In such a subordinate Dalhousie found a man who even foreran him in enthusiasm for the people's advancement. So much was done in the North-West Provinces, in the Punjab, throughout India generally that we can understand the vexation which accompanied deeper feelings when the Mutiny came. The mere record of the Lawrences' achievement in one year, which called out from John by Napier's criticisms, is staggering. Theirs was a system which did not admit of leave. The need was too enormous, the work too exciting; men must persist until they broke down. When Dalhousie had mentioned that his near relation, Lord William Hay, wanted leave, John had answered:

'If Lord W. Hay is left to our mercies, we must, in duty bound, refuse him leave. We have agreed not to recommend any leave unless when men are sick. There is still much to do, and will be so for the

next two years. Everyday is of value, and the best officer cannot work too hard or too long for the public interest.'

A tyranny of duty drove on the best men, as fiercely as any taskmaster's whip. After thirty years in which men's lives had gone in such work as extirpating thuggee and suttee, infanticide and slavery, we need not wonder that respect for Indian civilization was low. The slavish superstition which made men refuse to cross the sea, lest defilement came, pressed on Dalhousie:

> 'the necessity for commencing the movement intended to uproot the absurd and unmeaning system, under which the whole Bengal army is practically no better than a collection of local corps, and to substitute for it a system of enlistment for general service of every man who may hereafter be recruited for any arm within its ranks.' (August 2, 1854.)

Dalhousie sanctioned Thomason's plans for an engineering college at Rurki and kept up at his own cost the girl's college founded in Calcutta by J.E. Drinkwater Bethune, a member of his Council, who died, 1851. He pressed on the Directors educational expenditure. He established for Bengal, hitherto a charge of the Governor-General, and too apt to be neglected for general responsibilities, a separate lieutenant-governorship. He established a Central Legislative Council. He a even dreamed of a time when Indians might rise to authority themselves. He laid practically all the foundations of modern India and it is only when we look at the promise of this period and remember the prolonged setback which followed the Mutiny—an experience like the American 'Reconstruction' are after the Civil War—that we realise the tragedy of that episode, which substituted harsh judgment and bitterness for understanding and eagerness. He greatly increased the expenditure on public works so much so that we may look on the gain of four and a half millions sterling to the revenue from his annextions as one for the good of India as a whole. The Grand Trunk Road was begun; canals were vastly extended, and the mighty Ganges Canal was finished in 1854, after eight years of work and the spending of £ 14,00,000 of which sum all but £170,000 was provided during his period of office. Its 525 miles (at this date) exceeded 'all the irrigation lines of Lombardy and Egypt together; and Thomason, not a man to boast, claimed that it was unequalled among the efforts of civilized

nations.' Dalhousie insisted, against strong opposition, that such benefactors as outstanding public engineers, though neither in red coats nor among the 'heaven-born' civilians, should be knighted. Prisoners were put under inspectors, first by Thomason in his territory, then by degrees in every other province; even criminals were acknowledged to have rights of protection. The final extirpation of the *Meriah* abominations was in Dalhousie's time. He introduced railways, the first line being opened in 1853, and a more important one between Calcutta and the Raniganj coal-area, in 1854. India saw (1853);

> 'the splendid sight of fifty Parsee ladies riding in a special train upon the rail from Bombay to Tanah.'[48]

He introduced the electric telegraph, and supported the man responsible, against every sort of official nonsense and red tape, having him directly under himself, and not under the Military Board. The Punjab was given a network of military roads, immensely valuable to its people. The inefficient postal arrangements were abolished, and the cheap half-anna rate of pre-War days established. The forests were conserved and tea-planting encouraged.

Macaulay's filtration theory' in education had worn very thin before the Mutiny, and a new policy was laid down in the Directors' despatch of 1854, which is usually ascribed to Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control.[49] The Bombay Government had already acknowledged the relative importance of elementary education, and by 1852 had 233 vernacular schools with over 11,000 pupils, as against 14 Government colleges and English schools with 2000 scholars. The Bengal Government, following the older theory, had 30 colleges with 5000 pupils, but only 33 elementary schools. The despatch of 1854 was a justification of the Bombay policy. This difference of outlook was typical of a change which was taking place throughout the administration. As province after province came under British rule the new governments took more direct responsibilities. The *ryotwari* system of direct assessment succeeded the *zamindari* method of farming out the land revenue. When the Government began to embark upon large development schemes, roads, irrigation canals, and buildings, these were constructed as far as possible by public departments. The whole of British India was divided up into districts,

and subdivided into areas under Indian officials, *Tehsildars. Mamlatdars,* etc. The district officer had an ever-increasing number of duties thrust upon him, especially in those early days in the Punjab, where sixty picked men, of whom Nicholson is the most famous, brought immense energy to their work. 'The sound of his horse's hoofs was heard from Attock to the Khaibar,' a frontier tribesman said of Nicholson. The Englishmen is at his best in dealing with a primitive people, and this ruthless progress and efficiency, imposed directly from above, was typical of Dalhousie's administration.

He came to an official world sunk in routine. The Commander-in-Chief spent the whole year in the hills, involving the State in heavy expense by his residence there and by 'the enormous quantity of transport which he required when he moved about;' the reader with Indian experience can fill in details. By personal example Dalhousie reformed those who could be reformed and encouraged those who, in the Punjab and elsewhere, were moved by a zeal like his own. Though haughty and imperious, he was no stickler for state; a note to his private secretary, at midnight of March 29, 1849, says:

'It you are up and have your breeches on come here. If not, without them.'

He worked unpausingly through the sorrow of his wife's death and his own deepening pain. An affection diagnosed as gout settled into malignant disease of the shin-bone, afterwards extended to his throat. He had to be much at sea or in the hills, and when he left India dragged himself on board with crutches. He had then long outlived any desire but for retirement, and praise and rewards were vanity to his spirit, which continued unflagging in unselfishness, in care for his friends, in uprightness and courage and witty vivacity. India has been the scene of abundant valour, but of none more moving than this man's. All things weighed, he was the greatest of the Governors-General after Warren Hastings; and as a man he has a place all to himself, his pluck and intellect making of steadfast conscientiousness a thing of exceeding loveliness,

'Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute.'

REFERENCES

1. Sir William Lee-Warner, *Life of Lord Dalhousie*, i. 104 ff.
2. Cf. his letter to the President of the Board of Control, June 29, 1854: 'My experience has taught me that men who correspond over a space of 10,000 miles should watch their pens; for ink comes to burn like caustic when it crosses the sea. I, therefore repress the inclination to say what I feel, and will merely reply that I am open to no blame; and will prove it.'
3. *Life of Dalhousie*, i. 353.
4. *Life*, i. 445 ff.
5. October 29, 1853.
6. Sir John Malcolm, who understood 'adoption' and the Indian attitude towards it better than anyone else, twenty years before Dalhousie's time (November 14, 1829) expressed this opinion: 'Adoptions, which are universally recognised as legal among Hindus, are not a strict right (any more than direct heirs) where grants of land are for service....But while a few have been permitted to adopt, others are denied the privilege; and while we declare their direct heirs are entitled to succeed, we lie in wait (I can call it nothing else) to seize their fine estate on failure of heirs, throwing them and their adherents and the country into a state of doubt and distraction....The Bengal Government, influenced by, if not composed of, men bred in Calcutta, take a mere fiscal view of the subject, and be leave, I imagine, our chiefs and Jagheerdars to be like the Baboos and Bengal Jemindars....' As this passage suggests, British-Indian history would have taken a very different, and probably far happier, course if Calcutta had not been the capital.
7. *Story of Satara (The Modern Review* Office, Calcutta, 1922).
8. Gleig., *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, iii. 237.
9. Author of 'O worship the King all-glorious above' and other wellknown hymns.
10. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, ii. 387. Elphinstone, in retirement, took a deep interest in the affair, having been so largely concerned in the re-establishment of Satata.
11. *op. cit.*, ii. 387.
12. 674. It is worth noting that Kaye *(History of the Sepoy War*, i. 72) thinks his deposition justified.
13. Sir William Lee-Warner, *Life of Lord Dalhousie*, ii. 158.
14. *Life of Elphinstone*, ii. 388, Minute of Colonel Low, February 10, 1854.
15. *Life of Dalhousie*, ii. 168.
16. *op. cit.*, ii. 178 ff.

17. See Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War,* Book 1, chapter 2; and for a partial defence, Lee-Warner, *Life of Lord Dalhousie,* ii. 181.
18. Minute of March 30, 1853.
19. Treaty of May, 21, 1853.
20. *Life of Dalhousie,* ii. 117 ff.
21. See Thompson, *Suttee,* 108 ff.
22. *Calcutta Review,* iii. 376.
23. W. Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King,* 6,5,3,5.
24. *op. cit.,* 9.
25. Sleeman, *A journey through the Kingdom of Oude,* 1849-50 (1858 ed), xviii.
26. Cf. Mary Webb's *Precious Bane.*
27. Sleeman, i. 275.
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29. *Journey through Oude,* ii. 68-9.
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31. Sleeman, letter to Sir Erskine Perry, February 2, 1850.
32. Sir William Lee-Warner, *Life of Lord Dalhousie,* ii. 317.
33. *op. cit.,* ii. 319 (Diary entry, December 30, 1851).
34. Lord Stanley, October 13, 1858.
35. January 9, 1856.
36. Court of Directors, November 21, 1855.
37. Mountstuart Elphinstone, May 4, 1856 (*Life* ii. 395).
38. This, as we have seen, is mistaken. But it was the common belief.
39. The Court of Directors.
40. William F. B. Laurie, *Narrative of Events during the second Burmese War, from August, 1852....,* 89.
41. March 24, 1854. The Crimean War broke out, 1854.
42. He became Commissioner of Peshawar, October, 1853.
43. *Life of Dalhousie,* ii. 62 ff.
44. *op. cit.,* ii. 360.
45. Sometimes spelled 'Hearsay.' The Hearseys were a very famous Anglo-Indian family.
46. Sir Richard Temple, *Man and Events of My Time in India,* 45.
47. *Life of Dalhousie,* ii. 360.
48. William F. B. Laurie, *The Second Burmese War Pegu,* 280.
49. Grandfather of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin.

5

Sardar Ajit Singh

Sardar Ajit Singh, a preeminent performer in the revolutionary movement in the 20th century, had become almost a legend in his life time. Burning with uncompromising patriotism, ardent revolutionary zeal and strong hatred of British pretensions, he was a dynamic personality who initiated mass movement against the foreign rule and adopted revolutionary techniques for the emancipation of his country.

Son of Sardar Arjan Singh and born on 3 February 1881 in the village of Khatkar Kalan in the district of Jullundur, Ajit Singh died on 15 August 1947.[1] His two brothers, Kishen Singh and Swaran Singh, were also his associates in his work. Bhagat Singh, the well-known revolutionary, was the son of his brother, Kishen Singh.

Ajit Singh came of a family which had a long history of partiotism and service to the country. One of his forefathers took an active part in the various battles fought during the first Anglo-Sikh War. At the time of the Revolt of 1857 when the Punjab princely states were helping the British with men, money and material, Ajit Singh's great grandfather, Sardar Fateh Singh, scornfully turned down the invitation of Sardar Surat Singh Majithia to come to the help of the foreigners.

In early childhood Ajit Singh imbibed a strong anti-British feeling. Having seen some English officials in the company of his uncle who, in his words, used to run after them, and convinced of their foolishness and inability to express themselves in the language of the people over whom they ruled, Ajit Singh in childlike innocence decided that he "would not take the *Sahebs* as servants nor give them any job as all of them were fools."[2] He could not, like his uncle, reconcile himself to a servile and sycophantic role.

Ajit Singh, after his early education in his village and then at Banga, passed his Matriculation examination from the Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Jullundur. He joined D.A.V. College, Lahore where he came in contact with two Punjabi stalwarts, Principal Hans Raj and Lala Lajpat Rai, and he imbibed their simplicity, nationalist fervour and spirit of sacrifice. Soon he plunged himself into social service activities. In the famine of 1900 he helped the poor and the destitute evincing special interest in the care of orphans who, he felt, could be moulded into fine fighters for the country's freedom.

Ajit Singh's father and other members of his family were greatly influenced by Arya Samaj, the leading social reform organisation having a popular base in the urban centres of the Punjab. He read a number of books about Rajput and Sikh heroism and stories of Italian leaders, Mazzini and Garibaldi, and he was powerfully influenced by their patriotic zeal, spirit of sacrifice and love of the country. Quite early in life he took to Swadeshi and began to have a feeling that "the alien rule was undesirable."

While at Barreilly College Ajit Singh in 1903 alongwith his brother, Kishen Singh, attended the Delhi Durbar "with a view to bringing about solidarity among the Indian princes to create a solid front against the British."[3] Some of the early Indian revolutionary idealists, obviously inspired by Italian liberation and unification under the banner of king of Sardinia-Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel II (1820-78), hoped that Indian emancipation too could be brought about by the active participation and help of Indian princes who, they thought, could supply arms and ammunition to the revolutionaries. Evidenlty, such an attempt did not make any headway.

Ajit Singh was married in 1903 to Harnam Kaur, daughter of Dhanpat Rai, a pleader in Kasur.

His association with the Indian National Congress began when it met at Calcutta in December, 1906. About this time two wings, popularly called the Moderates and the Extremists, had emerged in the national organisation. The Extremists, dissatisfied with the slow and halting programme of the Moderates, were demanding the adoption of more vigorous and effective methods for the attainment of Swaraj. Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the Congress, stated the aim of the Congress to be "self-government or Swraja like that of the United

Kingdom or the colonies." However, the pleas and patience of the "Grand old man of India" could not satisfy the exuberance of the young man from the Punjab. Ajit Singh openly identified himself with the Extremists, and declared, "our difficulties will not be lessened until we have a government of our own."[4] Commenting on the Calcutta resolution of self-government, he later on said. "Australia made no petition to get self-government, nor did the Boers submit any memorial. America did not apply to England for favours. They only showed the Englishmen that they were their equals, in the art of both peace and war." "You cannot expect," he added, "a king having his royal palace to share your hovels, nor can you hope for a voluntary resignation of temporal power by the dominant race."[5] The Calcutta Session gave Ajit Singh an opportunity to meet leaders like Motilal Ghose, Aurbindo Ghosh, Romesh Chandra Dutt, B.G. Tilak, etc.

On his return on Punjab Ajit Singh and his comrades formed, in 1907, a revolutionary organisation, *Bharat Mata Sabha* with headquarter at Lahore. This was broadly patterned after Mazzini's "Young Italy." Many young revolutionaries belonging to different communities were its active members. The most important among them were Sufi Amba Prashad, Zia-ul-Haq, Lal Chand Falak, Kishen Singh and Swaran Singh. Other prominent members who strove to spread the ideology and programme of the *Sabha* were: Mehta Anand Kishore, secretary of the *Anjuman-i-Mohibban-i-Watan*(Society of Patriots), Duni Chand of Lahore, Ghasita Ram, Lala Ram Saran Dass of Kapurthala, Lala Pindi Dass, Dhanpat Rai, Kartar Singh, ex-editor of *Edward Gazette* (Kasur), Jaswant Rai, proprietor of the *Punjabee*, Dina Nath of Kasur, Ram Singh, Jaggan Nath, Mulkh Raj, Paras Ram, Labh Singh, former editor of the *Haq Pasand* (Amritsar), Mehtab Singh, Barrister-at-Law, Gurdit Singh, Ram Chand of Peshawar, Zia Ullah of Kasur, Mahashe Narain, sub-editor of the *Hindustan* (Lahore).[6]

Unlike some other secret societies, especially in Bengal, the *Bharat Mata Sabha* was much more secular and broader in outlook. It included members from Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities. There were no religious trappings, nor was any secret oath in the name of religion administered to its members. Only trustworthy persons were taken in as it was a secret society, no announcement was made for its

formation, no publicity was undertaken, nor were there any membership forms or registers.

Its aim was to bring together like-minded revolutionaries and to spread political consciousness among the people so as to prepare them for the eventual revolutionary struggle. The members of the *Sabha* believed that the British rule in India was sustained by a handful of Englishmen enjoying passive support and obedience of the Indians particularly in the administration and army. By paralyzing the British administration and by persuading the Indian collaborators to desert their alien masters, they concluded, the collapse of the *Raj* could be brought about.

However, the total membership of the *Sabha* remained small in size, and it was poor in resources. But despite this it brought together radicals from different social groups together during the short period of its existence, and played a notable role in the diffusion of political awakening and the spread of anti-British feeling.

At Calcutta Congress Ajit Singh had resolved to launch a popular agitation in the Punjab on the lines of anti-partition agitation in Bengal.[7] The conditions then prevailing in the province, especially certain administrative and legislative measures, were generating anti-British sentiment among the people of rural areas. The first measure was the Punjab Land Colonization Bill (1906) which aimed at strengthening the "irksome system of regulations" as also stopping the further fragmentation of landholdings in the Chenab Colony by introducing the law of primogeniture. The colonists, mostly ex-soldiers, greatly resented these provisions of the Bill. Then the water-rates in the Bari Doab were enhanced and in Rawalpindi district the new land settlement was made at a higher rate. The plague and the large scale mortality too was responsible for creating bitterness in the minds of the people, and the comparative immunity of the Europeans led to rumours that the British were spreading the disease. Further, the prosecution of those papers which brought the cases of British high-handedness to public notice antagonised the people. All these contributed to the ferment and unrest in Punjab.

Ajit Singh was not slow in taking full advantage of these circumstances. With a view to bringing about a revolution in the Punjab and to create awakening he organised a series of meetings at

Lahore and other cities where these measures were subjected to the severest denunciation. Unjust policies of the British, arbitrary and capricious behaviour of the officials, destruction of Indian industries, etc. formed the recurring theme of his numerous speeches. One of the biggest meetings was held at Lyallpur in March 1907 where Banke Dayal, the editor of *Jhang Sayal*, read the stirring poem *Pagree Sambhal O Jatta* which, in the words of Ajit Singh, "resounded the skies" of the province.[8]

Ajit Singh by means of pamphlets, meetings, lectures and tours sought to infuse patriotism and self-confidence among the people. He even used marriage-parties for propagating his ideas.[9] He addressed scores of meetings, and speaking in an idiom that was comprehensible to the ignorant, he attracted large crowds. He was able to communicate successfully with the commonman. He was here, there and everywhere; his propaganda mill was continuously grinding. In his speeches he made a scathing criticism of British rule in India—Its repressive policies, destruction of Indian industries and heavy taxation. For recurring famines he held the British solely responsible.[10] He lashed at the oppressive behaviour of the officials who pretended that they were toiling for the good of the native population. He sought to inculcate the sentiment of partiotism and feeling of self-respect by reminding his audience of the glories and greatness of India's past. His severest attacks were on the policy of "political beggary" advocated by many Congress leaders. He asked the people: "You send petitions and memorials to the government and fold your hands before it. But of what avail is it all?"[11]

He did not subscribe to the view of those leaders who were endeavouring to bring about an improvement of the governmental machinery by demanding reforms. He rejected such an attempt as futile. He simply said: "We should not help government whether it works justly or unjustly, because it does not belong to our country."[12] He frankly told them that no good of the country is to be expected from the British.[13] He urged the people to shed fear of the rulers and develop courage, boldness and self-reliance and to be prepared to undergo sufferings, transportations and even hangings. Ajit Singh was confident of driving out the foreigners for he said: "Although they have not guns, rifles and other arms yet we will vaporize them in a minute, for God will come to the rescue of His oppressed people."[14]

He advocated passive resistance, importance of Swadeshi and boycott of British goods. He stressed the boycott of British run administrative, educational and judicial institutions. He asked for resignation of Indians from army, police and civil services and non-acceptance of lower jobs such as those of *khansmans,bhishtis,* sweepers, coolies.[15]

These activities alarmed the Punjab authorities. The Lieutenent-Governor, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, perhaps the most knowledgeable person about the Punjab, came to believe that the political situation in the province was "exceedingly serious, and exceedingly dangerous, and as urgently demanding a remedy." He informed the Viceroy that a definite anti-British propaganda had started in the villages; corruption of the yeomanry, the Sikhs and the military pensioners was systematically planned; the movement for withholding the payment of government revenue, water-rates and other dues was beginning to take a prominent position, and everywhere people were sensible of a change of "new air" (nayihawa).[16] In view of the "persistent," "malignant" and "widespread" agitation, the Lieutenant-Governor asked the Government of India for powers "to prevent, by executive action, the stream of seditious poison being poured into the minds of our people, either by printed matter or orally,"[17] and to deport (under Section 2 of Regulation III of 1818) Ajit Singh, "the most active and the most virulent of those who have spoken against the British Government" and Lala Lajpat Rai, "a revolutionary, a political enthusiast, probably honest" who was everywhere recognised as "the moving spirit" of the whole agitation.[18] Ibbetson concluded that the "security of the British dominions from internal commotion" was threatened and the judicial proceedings were "inadvisable or improper,"[19] and as such these "executive powers of a somewhat arbitrary character" were necessary if the peace of the province was to be preserved.[20]

Lajpat Rai was arrested on 9th May and Ajit Singh on 2 June. They were deported to Mandalay. They were released in November 1907.

After his release Ajit Singh attended the Surat Session of Indian National Congress in December 1907 where an open split between the two groups took place. Afterwards, he attended the convention of the Extremists. He held frequent meetings with Aurbindo Ghosh in regard to the extension of revolutionary work in the country.[21] Ajit

Singh's work and sacrifice were greatly applauded. Tilak called him "the king of the peasantry," and in recognition of his services the Nationalists presented him a plumed cap as an emblem of the Indian National Crown. He was "extremely proud of this (plumed cap) and exhibited it, wherever he went."[22]

On his return to Punjab in January 1908 Ajit Singh intensified his activities. One of his persistent endeavours had been to promote patriotism among the people. Inspired by Mazzini and Garibaldi, Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal he strove hard to spread their "selfless, patriotic and pure thoughts throughout the length and breadth of the country." Every time that Ajit Singh rose to speak he would exhort his people to cultivate patriotism for "then neither the tyranny of the oppressor nor the sword of the assassin can terrify you." He bluntly told him: "if you have no patriotism, you are no better than dogs."[23]

Ajit Singh laid the greatest stress on the unity and concerted efforts of both Hindus and Muslims. Believing in secular and non-communal approach, he would make passionate exhortations to the two communities to embrace each other and offer combined opposition to the foreign rule. If that was done, he asserted, nothing could stop India's progress. He urged them:

> God is one, India is your country and every Indian is your brother. You are a Sikh afterwards, an Indian first; you are a Muslim afterwards, an Indian first: you are a Hindu afterwards; an Indian first; you are a Christian afterwards, an Indian first.[24]

Ajit Singh spoke against the evils of caste-system, mutual discords and the feeling of high and low in Indian society. "The caste-system," he added, "is pernicious and this silly idea has blighted our country and, whatever remains will also crumble."[25] He asked his countrymen:

> What is the fault of a *bhangi* or a *chamar* that we look down upon him as low? His only fault is that he is poor. If that is so, then why do you blame the British? They are at present the ruling nation. Why should you complain if they consider you low or humiliate you, or they do not allow you to sit by their side in the train, or they discriminate in favour of their own countrymen in legal cases? You should not grumble about this. Tell me honestly how you all feel about it. When you yourself do not dispense justice to others, how do you expect justice from the foreigners?[26]

Undoubtedly, he was the bitterest critic of the grossly unjust and humiliating treatment meted out to certain sections of Hindu society for it in his opinion stood in the way of India's progress as a nation. He asked the people to forsake mutual hatreds, jealousies and feelings of high and low, and he explained to them how the great people of ancient Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome suffered decline and eclipse on account of the presence of these social evils. Pleading for harmony and social equality he said; "Unity fostered by the sympathetic and equal treatment of low people is at the root of all progress."[27]

Ajit Singh laboured to expose the utter impotence of the *Raj, i.e.*, the vast numerical inferiority of the European population and their total dependence upon Indian help and cooperation for the sustenance of their rule. He was convinced that once this support was withdrawn by boycott of British services, police, army and courts the foreign domination would crumble in no time. He castigated the Indian agents, spies, informers and detectors of the government as disloyal and enemies of the country and asked them not to support the foreign rulers. The ridiculously small number of the Englishmen in India was a recurring theme of his speeches. Despite the vulgarity of the expression he would repeatedly tell his audience that the native population of India numbered 30 crores, whereas the Europeans were only 150,000. What could the latter do against the former? The urine of the native population if collected together was sufficient to drown all-Europeans in India.[28] Ajit Singh was confident of driving the English out of the country. He was also in touch with the revolutionaries in other parts of the country. Here is a report from C.I.E. records:

> Ajit Singh's activities are not confined to the Punjab and to the establishment in it of the revolutionary group of which he is the centre. He visited Calcutta in November 1908 and also in May 1909. There he was in communication with the extremist party in Calcutta. It is wellknown that circumstances which seem to point strongly to the existence of links between the revolutionary parties in the Punjab and elsewhere. He also visited Hardware in the United Provinces in March 1908 and distributed his publication on the occasion of the Gurukul anniversary.[29]

Ajit Singh continued to bring out revolutionary literature with an aim to instill partiotism and fearlessness among his people. In these

writings the leaders of the revolt of 1857 such as Tantia Tope, Lakshmi Bai, Kunwar Singh were eulogised and the people were asked to complete their unfinished work. When Tilak was sentenced to transportation for six years in 1908, Ajit Singh and his followers assumed the garb of *sadhus* vowing to wear in until Tilak was released. In November 1908, he issued an appeal for the establishment of *Tilak Ashram* for he regarded Tilak as the greatest awakener of the masses and "father of modern Indian nationalism."[30] He hoped to make it as "a miniature university of politics for our nation" where Tilak's great work would be carried further and which would "lay deep the foundation of nationalism in the minds and hearts of intelligent men of each generation."[31] He thought that it would serve as "the nerve centre of nationalism" sending out trained journalists, lecturers to all parts of the country to spread the message of nationalism.[32]

Another effort of Ajit Singh was to inculcate the spirit of self-confidence and self-reliance among his people. No nation, he said, had ever arisen with the help of others or by depending on others. God always helps those who help themselves, he often used to say to his audience.

Soon Ajit Singh's activities attracted government's attention. A close watch began to be kept on his movements and the postal authorities searched his letters. The house of his father and also that of his father-in-law were searched and revolutionary literature was recovered.[33] His numerous associates were subjected to harassement and imprisonment. Printing presses and book-stores printing and selling this literature were closed down. Ajit Singh fearing his arrest and keen to avoid the prospect of rotting in jails decided to flee from the country. He alongwith Sufi Amba Parshad, Zia-ul-Haq, Rikhikesh and Thakur Dass escaped to Persia via Karachi in August-September 1909.[34]

In Persia Ajit Singh and his comrades established contacts with Iranian revolutionaries who were struggling against the despotic king and the intervention of European powers. He developed close and friendly relations with leaders like Sayyid Abdullah, the *mujtahid* and Zia-ud-din Tabatabai, the prominent liberal *mujtahid* on the side of the Persian revolution. Meanwhile the British authorities made frantic efforts (including the attempt to bribe Persian leaders) to arrest Ajit Singh and his comrades. However, by avoiding the Royal road from

Bushire to Shiraz and taking "the less frequented and very perilous" way and securing the help and protection of tribal chieftains they succeeded in evading arrest.

After about one year's stay in Persia, Ajit Singh came to Turkey via Russia where he met Mustafa Kemal Pasha and other "Young Turk" leaders who were engaged in the task of bringing about progress and development in their country. From Turkey he went to Paris and met Indian revolutionaries, Shyamji Krishan Verma, Madame Cama, Virendernath Chattopadhya, etc. Later he shifted to Switzerland and made acquaintance with Har Dayal and Chempakaraman Pillai and also with the revolutionaries from other parts of the world—South America, Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia, Egypt and Morocco. Here he also met the Italian leader and future dictator, Mussolini, and also Trotsky, one of the greatest Russian revolutionaries. Towards the end of 1913, he shifted to France to watch the events and developments of the impending war. Here he was shadowed by the French police on account of the visit of the King of England, George V, to that country.[35]

Soon after the outbreak of the First World War, Ajit Singh choose Brazil as the place for his activities. He stayed there from 1914 to 1932. He had some friends in Brazil, Senator Muniz Freire, Senator Nilo Pecanha (later President of Brazil), Jose Bezerra (Governor of Pernambuco and later Minister of Agriculture), Dr. Janeen Muller, etc., who helped him in his work. From Brazil it was possible for him to be in touch with the leaders of the Ghadar party in the U.S.A. He also formed a society of Indians settled in Brazil to make them aware of their duty and responsibility towards their mother-country and also to raise funds to support India's struggle for freedom.[36]

From 1932 to 1938 Ajit Singh worked in France, Switzerland and Germany. He renewed his contacts with the Indian revolutionaries working in Europe. He also met Subhash Chandra Bose. Before the beginning of the Second World War, Ajit Singh was keen to return to India where, he thought, he could work more effectively for his country. In a letter to Jawaharlal, he opened out his heart; "It is my keen desire to see you and to return to India alive."In this connection he met and sought the help of Sir Denys Bray, a member of the Indian delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva.[37] In 1938 he sent his application,

endorsed by Jawaharlal Nehru, whom he met in Europe, seeking permission to come to India. However the government, still viewing him as a "dangerous agitator" and an "undesirable foreigner" (on account of his having secured Brazilian citizenship), did not allow his entry into the country.[38]

On the eve of the Second World War Ajit Singh shifted to Itlay where, in order to intensify his activities and mobilize Italian public and governmental opinion in favour of India, he formed *Friends of India Society*. E.M. Grey, Fascist M.P. and a close associate of Mussolini was its President; Ajit Singh and Mohd. Iqbal Shaidai acted as Vice-President and General-Secretary respectively of this society. Mussolini evinced considerable interest in its activities. Ajit Singh wanted to promote cultural, commercial and political relations between India and Italy through this organisation.

His one significant activity, during the course of his stay in Italy, was the formation of *Azad Hind Fauj*. This was pioneering work. Long before Subhash Chandra Bose, he had organised a revolutionary army of the Indian prisoners of war. Ajit Singh writes: "When Subhash Chandra Bose came to Rome from India, this (*Azad Hind Fauj*) was already in existence and he was glad to see it. On his arrival in Berlin he also thought of organising an army there." With the active cooperation of Mussolini and ceaseless strivings of Mohd. Iqbal Shaidai, Ajit Singh succeeded in recruiting about ten thousand Indian soldiers for his army.[39] His passionate speeches from Rome Radio in Hindustani, the language understood by a vast majority of the men of Indian army, and his life of sacrifice and denial created great enthusiasm among them. He usually began his speeches with the well-known couplet of Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal emperor, who fought against the British in 1857.

> Gazion main boo rahegi jabtalak Imman ki
> Tabtak London tak chelegi teg Hindustan ki.

and ended with:

> Maza ayega jab apna raj dekhenge
> Ke apni he zamin hogi apna asama hoga.
> Shahidon ki chitaon per lagenge her baras melay
> Watan per marane walon ka yahi namo nishan hoga.[40]

It means: "so long as our soldiers of freedom have faith and confidence in themselves, the sword of Hindustan will continue to penetrate the heart of London itself. There will be sheer joy when we attain Swaraj and when the land and the sky of India will be ours. Annual fairs will be held at cremation grounds of martyrs, and that will be the way of celebrating the glory of those who die for their country."

However, Ajit Singh's experiment, on account of a number of difficulties, could not make further headway. In July 1943 Mussolini, the main provider of facilities, was arrested and his successor, Marshal Badoglio, was not on good terms with Ajit Singh. He wanted him to speak against Mussolini on the Radio which the latter refused to do. Then, all the Indian prisoners, of war were transferred to Germany and in May 1945 Ajit Singh himself was arrested by the Allied forces. However, his experiment was continued by Subhash Chandra Bose, first in Europe and then in South East Asia, on a vaster scale and in a much more spectacular manner.

After his arrest Ajit Singh was kept in prisoners' camps in Germany. Hard life in the military camps told upon his health adversely. His Autobiography narrates his life in these camps and the hardships he had to undergo.

Finally in December 1946 Ajit Singh left Germany for India via England. In London Indians of all communities gave him a very warm welcome. On 8 March 1947 he reached Karachi and then came to Delhi. Here the great wanderer was given a warm welcome by his countrymen, and he stayed in the house of Jawaharlal Nehru. Ajit Singh also participated in the Asian Relations Conference which was being held in Delhi then. He was glad to see his country rapidly marching towards the goal of freedom and emerging as a leader of the Asian countries. He was happy and proud to be back in Punjab where he had his early education and which had been the centre of his early political activities. He felt like having "regained the lost paradise."[41]

However, the India of 1947 was vastly different from the India of 1909 when Ajit Singh left its shores. Although freedom was round the corner, the division of the country looked imminent. Communal

riots which had broken out in Calcutta, Naokhali and Bihar soon engulfed Punjab too. His one dream, the freedom of the country, was near fulfilment, but the other, the unity of the country, was being shattered before his eyes. He made a strong appeal to his people to stop the senseless slaughter. Intense communal frenzy and widespread bloodshed gave him a rude shock. Perhaps it was this which took his life at 3.30 a.m. on 15th August, 1947, the day of deliverance.

Thus passed away a great patriot and a revolutionary of rare daring, a fearless critic of the British rule and an outspoken advocate of India's right to freedom. Despite buffetings, disenchantment from the nationalist scene and British doggedness in shadowing him, he did not expend his energies in other directions. Like Har Dayal or Aurbindo Ghosh he did not retreat into intellectual seclusion or religious mysticism. Nationalism was his overriding commitment.

What, precisely, is Ajit Singh's work and achievement? In the wake of Bengal partition agitation he inaugurated mass politics and strove hard to spread political consciousness and anti-British sentiment in a backwater province where the *Raj* appeared imposing and placid. By his powerful speeches and writings he exposed the hollow pretensions of the foreign rulers who had been loudly proclaiming, ever since the conquest of the Punjab that they worked for peace, prosperity and progress of the people. He dwelt on the ineffectiveness of the methods then employed by the Indian National Congress for attaining their objective, and he emphasized the need for the adoption of stronger and more vigorous means. And his success in this endeavour was by no means insubstantial as it is evidenced by his deportation in 1907 and the subsequent developments in the province. Stimultaneously, Ajit Singh worked to instil the sentiment of unity and patriotism among his countrymen and for the removal of caste and religious hatreds and jealousies, feeling of high and low. Later, after his flight from India in 1909, he carried on his work in Persia, Europe and Brazil with unabated zeal and energy and amidst trying circumstances. Shuttling between various countries he worked to whip up patriotic fervour among the Indians abroad to produce a militant response to British domination and to secure support and sympathy of other nations for the freedom of India.

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34. Home Department (Political-A), Nos. 28-29, Jan. 1911. See also *Buried Alive.*
35. *Buried Alive.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. Home Department (Political & K.W.) 29/4/1939.
38. Home Department (Political) 1/1/1945 (Secret).
39. *Buried Alive.*
40. Home Department (Political) 22/50/1946.
41. *Buried Alive.*

6

Socio-Cultural Movements in the Punjab

There were special conditions in the Punjab during the later half of the 19th Century, which led to the organisation in the Province of several socio-cultural movements. For centuries together, the brave and illustrious people of the Punjab had lived a life only of tumult and commotion. But when a strong hand of the British, had settled itself upon the country, the only possible outlet for their aspirations and expression was the organisation of peaceful movements, aiming only at social and cultural development of the people. Moreover, as the time passed, the liberal ideas of the West had their way into the country. Industrial revolution was taking place in England. The newly brought out British literature drank deep into the plans for liberal and cultural developments in that country. And not few of this country who visited England were inspired and enthused with this spirit of the West and brought its affect in their own motherland. The new schools and other educational institutions, established in the Punjab, after its annexation, also played their part, in bringing the people closer to English thought and literature. Much of the enthusiasm shown by the British regime and their reforming zeal, had slackened after the Mutiny. But the initiative had been taken, and the people took the charge in their own hands.

Many important movements were thus organised, some of which originated in the province itself, while others travelled into it from other parts of India. Majority of these movements had a programme of reconstruction in social and religious spheres. In majority of the cases, religion was the basic source of inspiration, and this was very much natural too. When the well-meaning people of this country came in contact with the glories of the western thought, lest they felt inferior,

they had to dig for glories in their own past, and bring them to surface. The subject remained Indian, while the affect was western and the product in majority of the cases, therefore, was a mixture of the two; in one case the balance going towards one side, while in another towards the other.

A. MOVEMENTS AMONG THE HINDUS

Consistent with the fact that Hinduism was a social rather than a religious system, "whereas Islam tended to develop the old sects and throw off new ones, Hinduism confined its activity mainly to the semi-social movements."[1]

Brahmo Samaj—(I)

Of the various movements among the Hindus, which originated or travelled into the province, the first was the Brahmo Samaj. The movement had been founded in Bengal in 1828, by Raja Ram Mohun Rai, "the pioneer of all living advance, religious, social and educational in the Hindu community during the nineteenth century." Born in 1771, in his early years, the Raja fell under the influence of Christian Missionaries, and in 1820, published a remarkable book "the Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness," in which he declared that he found "the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge." The influence of the Christian Missionaries. However; could not hold the Raja for long. Soon after, he developed a controversy with them, and not being satisfied with his newly adopted faith; he came back to Hinduism, and founded the Brahmo Samaj. He died in 1833.

The Samaj introduced itself in the Punjab only after the Mutiny. A branch of the Samaj was established at Lahore in 1864, and by 1872, it had its own temple in Anarkali.

Their Principles and Methods

The prayers of the Brahmos were somewhat after English Church, and were addressed to Brahma, the one God, the chief purport being that all, including Hindus, Christians and Mohammedans might be converted to Him and become Brahmos. The Brahmos were said

to have been opposed to Vedas and all scriptures which could be interpreted to support poly-theism. They did not believe in transmigration and they condemned idol worship. Nor did they believe in caste system. No body was born high or low, it was only one's action which made him one or the other.

In their social programme, the Brahmos did all that they could, to advance education in the country. They believed in freedom of thought and expression, and journalistic freedom was one of their most cardinal principles.

The movement, however could not find much success in the Punjab. It was confined only to Lahore and Shimla, and at these places too, it seems to have been overwhelmed and absorbed by Arya Samaj.[2]

Chet Ramis (II)

The movement was founded by a person named Chet Ram, in 1865. Born at Sharakpur in Lahore District, in 1835, Chet Ram was a man of very little education, being able to read and write only Lunda characters. He died in 1895, after which, his daughter was installed on the '*Gadi.*'

The movement, in its beliefs and doings, depicted a strange influence of Christianity. Its founder, Chet Ram, had an implicit faith in Christ as the only God. And his disciples were to wear a copy of bible, each round his neck. They also carried, each, a long rod with a cross at its head. The front portion of the horizontal part of the rod, carried the inscription:

'Help; O Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, God Read the Bible and the Gospels for salvation—(Chet Ramis)'

The Chet Ramis usually belonged to poorer classes of the province, and were met within Ferozepur, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Montgomery districts. According to the dictation of the founder forty of his followers were always to persist upon alms and preach about the teachings of their faith. They were to remain celebate all their lives.

The number of the followers of Chet Ram, seemed to be increasing in the first quarter of the 20th century. But the caste prejudices of those who joined the movement remained intact. The Mohammedan converts did not mix up with the Hindu converts.

The Arya Samaj (III)

A short distance from the Northwestern coast of the Indian Peninsula, Dayanand the founder of the movement was born in 1824, in the prosperous town of Marvi, in Kathiawar. His father, a Brahmin of the bigest order, held a respectable post in the Government of the State and was "a rigid, austere Brahmin, thoroughly orthodox and uncompromising in his religious beliefs and practices......His mother, on the other hand, was the personification of sweetness, gentleness, and goodness.[3]

Education of Dayanand, whose original name was Mul Shankar, commenced when he was five years of age, and he was invested with the sacred thread in his eighth year. His father himself assumed the role of a teacher for him, but the son seemed to have been a born rebel, against the authority of his father, and it was the father's piously-intended insistence, upon his son's observing the fast of Shivratri, which turned the son "into the most virulent and successful opponent of image-worship of his time," at the age of fourteen. Death of his beloved sister, had turned the young boy's attention towards investigation into the mysteries of birth and death. Death of his beloved uncle, who had rocked him in his lap, often times, distracted him at the age of nineteen, and he was told on his anxious enquiries, that *yogabhyas* was the method, by which he could understand the mystery. But the *yoga*, as he understood, could not be mastered till he left his home.

Father of the boy, already having reason to suspect the workings of his son's mind, decided to weave a web of affection round him but Dayanand resisted his parent's plan with determination and declined to be married. The marriage was postponed for a year, at the intercession of friends. The boy's proposal that he should be sent to Kashi, the Rome of Hindus, for further education, having been rejected, he was sent to a learned theologian, in a neighbouring village, for the purpose. But this could not satisfy the boy, who was recalled, and the day for his wedding fixed. But a week or so before the fixed date, the boy fled from home, and became a *Sadhu*. He was soon, however traced out and imprisoned under a strong guard. The same night, the boy succeeded once again in escaping, and this time for good, never seeing his father again.

After leaving the home, the second time assuming the ochre-coloured garments and changing his name, for full fifteen years, "from 1845 to 1860, young Dayanand wandered North; South, East, and West, almost all over India, in pursuit of knowledge and truth.....In search of teachers of fame and *yogis* of merit he peneterated into the innermost recesses of the Himalayas.....He crossed and recrossed the valleys of the noblest of Indian rivers, Ganges, the Jamuna, and the Narbada, and mounted the highest accessible tops of the hills near or in the vicinity of the sources of those rivers.[4] It was here that he delved deep into the mysteries of the nature. After studying for over thirty years, he acquired finishing touches to his education when he waited for two years and a half on Virja Nanda, a master spirit.

After this he entered into public life, visiting some of the most important towns of what is now known as U.P., preaching and teaching about his philosophy. It was on April 10, 1875, that he founded the movement, establishing the first Arya Samaj at Bombay. At Lahore, the Samaj was established in 1877, and it was this place which became its centre and where its principles received their final shape. Form 1877 to 1883, Swami Daya Nand spent his time in "preaching and teaching and writing books, as well as in establishing and organising Arya Samajis throughout India." He met with the greatest success in Punjab, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana and Gujrat. Like Brahmo Samaj, Daya Nand's speeches were delivered in Hindi. The Swami finished the compilation of his Satyarath Prakash in 1874. For sometime, there was a talk between him and Madame Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society, for a union between the two societies. But it failed. The Swami died on October 30, 1883, at Ajmere, as a result of the slow affect of a subtle poison, administered to him mixed in his food, by a Muslim concubine of Maharana Sajjan Singh of Jodhpur. The Swami had gone there as invited by the Maharana, and had taken a strong exception to his living with this concubine.

A note may here bearded regarding some general beliefs of the Swami, on the basis of which, the principles of the Samaj were drawn. The Swami believed that some persons might have more of the divine in them in proportion to what others have? But this should in no way mean that they are same as God. In fact, he held, no man is infallible,

however exalted he may be. The only approved forms of worship, according to him, are stuti—contemplation, Prathna—Communion and Upasana—Prayer. And the only approved form of expiation is repentance with a determination not sin again. The Swami believed in Karma, and therefore in transmigration. He believed in Fate only as much as confounded with the doctrine of Karma, and not beyond that. The man has the power, if he has the will, to make or unmake his destiny. Although due respect should be given to the living parents, there is no need of ancestor-worship. Vedas are infallible and inexhaustible source of all knowledge. The Swami did not believe in polytheism, nor did he have a belief in pantheism. Yet he believed that although God was distinct from the world, he was immanent in it as the principle of its life and existence. God never incarnates though Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, etc., who are only Devtas, do. He had no belief in the mythology of Puranas and condemned caste system, which according to him, had been a source of many other evils in the Hindu society. Nobody is born Brahman or born Sudra. Sudra is he who does evil, and Brahman is he who does good.

God and Soul, according to him, are two distinct entities, each having certain attributes of its own. Yet they are inseparable and are related to each other as Pervader and the Pervaded. Three things are eternal: God, Soul and Prakriti. "The purpose of creation is the essential and natural exercise of the creative energy of the Deity. A person once asked some one: 'What is the purpose of the eyes?' Why, to see with, to be sure,' was the reply. The same is the case here. God's creative energy must have play, and the Souls must reap the fruits of their Karma."

The transmigration, or earthly bondage of Soul has a cause. Cause is ignorance, which is a source of all sin. The freedom of Soul from suffering thus, is its salvation. But salvation lasts only for a period, on the expiration of which, the Soul assumes the body again.

Devas are those who are wise. Virtuous activity is superior to passive resignation. The other creatures should be treated in the same manner as one himself would like to be treated. Swarga is nothing but state of happiness in which Soul lives as a result of good actions. Narka is the State of pain.

"All truth must satisfy five tests: (1) It must not militate against the nature and attributes of God; (2) It must not be opposed to the teaching of the Vedas; (3) It must stand the test of the wellknown eight kinds of proofs based on natural laws; it must have the sanction of 'apt purshas' (*i.e.*, men learned, true and holy); and lastly (5) It must be in consonance with the dictates of one's own conscience. Every doctrine must be subjected to these five tests, and accepted if it fulfils them."

The true teacher is he who can teach the science of the Vedas and their commentaries. And true pupil is he who is devoted to the teacher, and is eager to learn; whose character is unassailable and whose capacity is strong enough to assimilate knowledge and grasp truth. The term Guru applies to all those through whom mind is weaned from falsehood and it includes father, mother and preceptor.[5]

Watchword of the Aryas was 'Back to the Vedas' which are perfect and source of all sciences and knowledge. There could he no historical or temporal reference to them.

The Qualifications of a Member

A. person, as it was laid down by the Swami, must subscribe to the following ten Niyamas—or principles, before he can become a member of the Samaj.

1. God is primary cause of all true knowledge.
2. God is all—truth, all-knowledge.....Unbegotten. Infinite.....and the cause of the universe. To Him alone worship is due.
3. Vedas are the Books of true knowledge Every Arya must read them.
4. Arya should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth.
5. All actions must conform to virtue and be performed after thorough study of right and wrong.
6. Primary work of Samaj is to benefit the whole world by improving physical, spiritual and social conditions of the people.
7. All should be treated with love and due regard to their merit.

8. Ignorance must be dispelled and knowledge diffused.
9. Every one is to consider his own good to be included in that of the others.
10. In personal affairs, all are to have freedom, but no person is to stand in way of the general good.

Religious Observances

Every member should observe the following five *Mahayajnas*

1. *Brahma Yajna*, which is twofold:
   a. *Sandhya* or worship of God every morning and every evening.
   b. *Swadhyae* or regular reading of portions of scripture every day.
2. The day is to be begun with *Deva Yajna*—the wellknown Homa or burning of Ghi.
3. *Pitri yajna*—or some sort of daily service to parents.
4. *Atithi yajna*—or the feeding of some ascetic or a learned man.
5. *Balivaishwa deva yajna*—or a duty towards poor, and helpless persons and towards domestic animals.

Main Programmes and Activities in Punjab

The basic principles[6] on which the social ideas of the Samaj were based were: 1. Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man. 2. Equality of sexes. 3. Absolute justice and fair play between man and man, and nation and nation. Equal opportunities to all according to their nature, Karma and merit. And 4. Love and charity towards all.

The social activities of the Aryas among Hindus, in practice, as commented upon by Mr. Valentine Chirol in 1910, were praiseworthy. "The influence has been constantly exerted to check the marriages between mere boys and almost infant girls which have done so much physical as well as moral mischief to Hindu society, and also to improve the wretched lot of Hindu windows whose widowhood with all that it entails of menial degradation often begins before they have ever really been wives. To this end the Aryas have not hesitated to encourage female education, and the girls' Orphanage at Jullundar, where there is also a widow's home has shown what excellent social

results can be achieved in that direction. Again in the treatment of the "untouchable" low-castes, the Arya Samaj may claim to have been the first native body to break new ground and to attempt something akin to the work of social reclamation of which Christianity and in a lesser degree, Islam had hitherto had the monopoly. Schools and especially industrial classes have been established in various districts which cannot fail to raise the status of the younger generation and gradually to emancipate the lower castes from the bondage in which they have been hither-to held.[7]

The first Hindu Orphanage was established by the Arya Samaj at Ferozepur, in the Punjab, during the life time of the Swami, with a splendid and commodious building. Later on a number of other orphanages on similar lines were established at different places in the Northern India.

In 1897-98, there were very severe famines in the country. A very commendable service was rendered by the Samaj in organising relief of distress. Thousands of children were rescued and for them several new orphanages opened in the Punjab. In 1908, famine relief was organised in the United Provinces. The famine relief included different kinds of other social service as well. Organisation of medical relief in the time of pestilence, nursing the sick and helping in the disposal of the dead. The Samaj also organised a large scale relief in the Kangra Valley in 1904, at the time of the great earthquake.

The Educational Field

Besides, one of the most interesting programmes of the Samaj was to weld together the educated and uneducated by encouraging the study of national languages of spiritual truth and by insisting on study of classical Sanskrit. Formation of sound and energetic habits by a regulated mode of living. The encouragement of a sound acquaintance with English literature and material progress of the country by spreading knowledge of physical and applied sciences[8] And in this again, the Samaj had a considerable success.

Daya Nanda Anglo-Vedic College

The Daya Nanda Anglo-Vedic College, which was described by the Punjab Administration Report of 1901-02, as "one of the most

interesting educational enterprises in Northern India," was opened at Lahore in June, 1889. The idea regarding it had been originated by the Swami himself. Giving an account of a meeting called by Lahore Arya Samaj on November 9, 1883, after the death of the Swami, thus wrote the Arya Patrika of June 20, 1885, "there was one united purpose that the glorious life of the departed Swami should be immortalised, and the proposal to found an Anglo-Vedic College in honour of his memory was unanimously adopted. The sight that followed was worth observing. Though the meeting was composed mostly of middle-class men, from 7,000 to 8,000 rupees were subscribed on the spot. Women and children and even poor menials zealously came forward with their mite." The declared purpose of the college was to be to (a) "encourage, improve and enforce the study of Hindu literature. (b) To encourage and enforce the study of classical Sanskrit and of the Vedas. (c) To encourage and enforce the study of English literature; and sciences both theoretical and applied.

The school department of this institution was opened in June 1886, and the College department in June, 1889. The progress of the institution was so fast, that on Dec. 31, 1913, the total number of students on the school rolls was 1,737, while that on the College rolls was 903. Soon a D.A.V. College at Jullundur, another at Hoshiarpur and the third at Cawnpore in U.P. were added, and the total amount of funds, at the disposal of the D.A.V. College movement on March 31, 1929, was Rs. 26,51,206-10-0

The Gurukula

In 1892, the Samaj was divided into two sections, which differed in the lined on which the D.A.V. College of Lahore was to be run. The difference of opinion was whether English, science, or the Vedas, should be given first place in the institution. Those who held the latter opinion, were termed as religious fanatics and debarred from the management of the college. But they, in order to put their ideas into practice, started a new institution, three miles below Hardwar, and named it as Gurukula. The Gurukula was established in 1902, as a result of the efforts chiefly of Munshi Ram, formerly a successful pleader of Jullundur.

Regarding the Gurukula, again, the views of V. Chirol may be quoted. "Under the system the child is committed at an early age to

the exclusive care of spiritual teacher or Guru, who stands to him in *loco parentis* and even more. In the Gurukulas or seminaries founded by the Arya Samaj pupils or *chelas* are admitted between the ages of six and ten. From that moment they are practically cut off from the outer world during the whole course of their studies, which cover a period of 16 years altogether—*i.e.*, ten years in the lower school and six years in the upper, to which they pass up as *Brahmancharis*. During the whole of that period no student is allowed to visit his family, except in cases of grave emergency, and his parents can only see him with the permission of the head of the *gurukul* and not more then once a month. There are at present (1910) three *gurukuls* in the Punjab, but the most important one, with over 250 students, Kangri."[9]

Sir James Meston the Lieutenant Governor of U.P. who visited the institution March 16, 1913, remarked: "The Gurukula is one of the most original and interesting experiments carried on in these provinces, in fact in the whole of India."

Constitution of the Samaj

There is a regular constitution of the Samaj, under which Vedas alone are to be regarded as absolute authority. There is to be a principal Arya Samaj in each province, with its branches. Every Principal Samaj must have library of Vedic works in Sanskrit and Arya-Bhasha, and a weekly named 'Arya Parkash.' Members of the staff should be truth-loving and of pure character. The members, particularly the unmarried ones must give their spare time to the Samaj activities. President of the Samaj, its Secretary and other members are to meet every 8th day. In the meetings, the members would sing the hymns of Sama Veda, and have discussion without bias. The members must pay one per cent of their income to the Samaj. They should worship only in Vedic manners. The Samaj should perform Vedic Sanskaras, and teach Vedas in Arya Vidayalas. The Samaj should give attention to uplift the country, both spiritually and materially, and send learned men to preach among the people. The President and other members of the Samaj should free their minds from pride. Only those who conform to the principles and live a pure life, should be admitted to higher circle from ordinary membership. On every occasion, such as marriage, a member should make a donation to the Samaj. An addition or an amendment can be made in the rules after thorough deliberations.

The Organisation

An effective member must accept the ten Niyamas, pay one per cent of his income to the Samaj and attend its meetings regularly. A Samaj having atleast ten effective members, is entitled to send its representatives to the Provincial Assembly.

Each Samaj should have an executive committee, consisting of five officials, elected by the vote of effective members. The five officials are to be—President, Vice-President, Secretary, Accountant and a Librarian. It should have its own meeting place and a splendid building for the purpose.

Each province is to have a Provincial Assembly, in which the Samajes would send their representatives in proportion to their effective members. The Provincial Assembly can change rules of management, it can organise propaganda, should run one or more papers, raise funds and manage provincial educational institutions, etc. Members of the Assembly are to be elected after every three years, but the officials would be elected every year.

There would be an All India Assembly formed by the representatives of different provincial assemblies.

The Progress

In 1928, the Samaj had the following two All India Organisations. 1. The Sarva Deshak Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, and 2. The Paropkarni Sabha founded by the Swami himself. It had nine Provincial Assemblies. The number of the Samajes whole over the country, on the provincial basis, were as follows—

Punjab	500
U.P	413
Delhi	200
C.P. & Berar	52
Ajmer	100
Bombay	30
Bengal & Bihar	20
Burma	10

Besides there were Samajes outside India.

The Samaj of Swami Dayanand was rendering a great service to the country, but as the Punjab Census Report of 1901 remarked, unfortunately its leaders were too much after keeping their reforms within the Hindu society. The principles of Fatherhood of God and absolute fair play between man and man and nation and nation, applied only within the Hindu community, outside of which they had no play.[10]

The Imperial Paper of Lahore, wrote in its issue of October 3, 1888, that the Aryas were inciting their members against Muslims and advising them to avenge themselves upon that community, because they believed that all the evils, such as child-marriage and purdah, were products of the Muslim rule in India.[11]

The Akhbar-i-Am wrote in its issue dated February 23, 1889, that some Aryas had spoken against Sikh Gurus and that somebody had published Granth Sahib full of mistakes. The Sikhs were getting very much exercised over it.[12] And Ravi, in its issue dated August 7, 1889, wrote that somebody had written a book Granthi phobia, injuring the feelings of the Sikhs.[13]

The "ethical code" of Swami Dayanand, thus wrote Valentine Chirol, "on the other hand, was vague, and he pandered strangely in some directions to the weaknesses of the flesh, and in others to popular prejudices. Nothing in the Vedas, for instance, prohibits either the killing of cattle or the eating of bovine flesh. But, in deference to one of the most universal of Hindu superstitions, Dayanand did not hesitate to include cow-killing amongst the deadliest sins. Here we have in fact the keynote of his doctrines. The sanctity of the cow is the touch-stone of Hindu hostility to both Christian and Mohammedan, and the whole drift of Dayanand's teachings is far less to reform Hinduism than to rouse it into active resistance to the alien influences which threatened, in his opinion to denationalise it. Hence the outrageously aggressive tone of his writings, wherever he alludes either to Christianity or to Mohammedanism. It is the advent of 'meateating and wine-drinking foreigners, the slaughterers of kine and other animals,' that has brought "trouble and suffering" upon "the Aryas"—he discards the word Hindu on account of its Persian origin—whilst before they came into the country, India enjoyed "golden days," and her people were "free from disease," and prosperous and contented." In fact, "Arya for the

Aryans" was the cry that frequently predominated in Dayanand's teachings over that of "Back to the Vedas...."[14]

Yet among Hindus, the Movement was getting popular as the time passed. In 1911, its membership stood at 2,43,000, and this was two and a half times as much as what was in 1901, and six times as much as that of 1891.

Deo Dharma (IV)

Deo Dharma was founded in Lahore by a Brahmin, Pandit Satya Nand Agnihotri, on February 16, 1887. He was formerly a master in the Government School at Lahore. While there, he had come under the influence of Brahmo Samaj, and had become its missionary in 1879. Subsequently, however he developed independent ideas and founded a separate Movement, the Deo Dharma.

In the main principles the movement founded by him was progressive. Like the other progressive bodies of the time, the Deo Dharma rejected all caste distinctions. The most cardinal point in their beliefs was that they reverenced all other religions; but they themselves rejected any idea of intercession, redemption and pilgrimages. They supported all civilized movements of the time, such as those for female education and female medical aid etc. They were, however the fiercest opponents of the Arya Samaj, which according to them, was constituted of diehard religious fantics.

The Headquarters of the Movement were at Lahore and by the early years of the 20th century, they were said to have as many as 12 missionaries and 190 members and sympathisers within or out side of the province.

Sanatan Dharm Sabha (V)

This movement was also started in Lahore, in 1889. The movement according to the Punjab Census Report of 1901, was "the most prominent of the formal associations; orthodox Hindus established for the conservation of the ancient Hindu religion by the Vedas, Puranas and other Shastras."

The objects of the movement, as noted in the memorandum of its constitution were to promote and preserve old orthodox Hinduism,

to establish a college for imparting modern education together with religions instructions and to establish a library, where to keep all works treating of Sanatan Dharma.

They adopted the term Sanatan Dharma, because they advocated a return to old faith of Hinduism, but the term was widely used, and was frequently returned by the members as their sect. Even the Hindus of lower caste did this.

By the first decade of the 20th century, the Sabha had its High School and an advanced Sanskrit Pathshala in Lahore. For a time, its management was lax, but soon it improved. Preachers were sent out to collect library of Sanskrit works and manuscripts and soon it became an important body.

Some Minor Associations (IV)

Sat Sabha was established at Lahore in 1866, to impart elementary truths of western knowledge to the people of the Punjab, through their own languages. The organisers also aimed at religious and social reforms among Hindus. But the movement does not seem to have been very much successful. Towards the beginning of the 20th century, the Association was reported to be loosing its importance.

Hindu Sabha was established at Amritsar in 1830. Its object was to revive the study of Sanskrit literature. The Sabha also aimed at social reforms among Hindus and at the educational development in the community. By the first decade of the 20th century, the Sabha had a prosperous school of its own.

B. MOVEMENTS AMONG THE SIKHS

Tendencies among the Sikhs resembled closely those among the Hindus, and they also, therefore organised societies instead of sects.

Gulab Dasis (1)

Gulab Dasis or Saints, says Bingley, were chiefly interesting in the near approach of their doctrines to those of the Epicureans.[15] The society was founded by one, Pritam Das, an Udasi faqir, his principle disciple being a Jat Sikh, named Gulab Das. Gulab Das was a trooper in the service of Maharaja Sher Singh and joined the society of Pritam

Das on the collapse of the Sikh monarchy. Gulab Das compiled a sacred book called Updes Bilas, and he taught that man was of same substance as the Deity, with whom he would eventually be absorbed.

The Gulab Dasis dispensed with pilgrimages. They preached against useless religious ceremonies, and against veneration of saints, According to the Punjab Census Report of 1881, pleasure alone was the aim of the Gulab Dasis, and renoucing all higher objects, they sought only for the gratification of the senses, for costly dress and tobacco, wine and women, the lust of the eyes and pride of life. They were scrupulously neat in their attire and were engaged in all wordly pursuits, some of them bring men of considerable wealth."[16]

The poor Mohammedan peasantry of these districts had been heavily in debt to the Hindu moneylenders. The prices were soaring, and when the epidmic of plague broke out, many Hindus left the villages to take refuge in the towns. Rumours spread that the British had left. In one case emissaries were actually sent to the district headquarters to see if the British flag was flying. Incidently, it being Sunday, the flag had been hauled down and the officers were retiring into their huts. This strengthened their belief that the British had left.

Here was an opportunity for the peasants to pay off their old scores. They rose in a body and started an alarming campaign of looting and disorder. The Hindu shops were looted, their account-books in which the debts had been recorded, were destroyed and grain and money plundered. Between 22nd February and 20th March, about fifty gang-robberies were committed on the Hindus. Disorder spread all around; although there was not much loss of life, only five Hindus dying as a result of injuries, and about eight of these peasants being shot by the police or by others in self defence, the loss and destrustion of property was great. Two of the leaders began to pose as the Crown Prince and the Kaiser, and they moved about freely to organise their followers, giving them high hopes and promises.

Prompt measures were taken to suppress the rising, which was hastened by passing just this time of the Defence of India Act, in March 1915. Special tribunals were immediately set up. Some four thousand of the disturbancemarkers were arrested. About eight hundred of the principal accused were tried by the Multan Tribunal in a few months time, and about five hundred were awarded exemplary punishments.

Conciliation Committees were established under impartial and tactful Muslim officers to prevail upon the peasants to give fresh acknowledgement of their debts and to make good the loss of the Hindus, so that good feeling among them should be restored. Within a year or so, thus, perfect peace was established.

C. THE GHADR PARTY

The Ghadr Party, unlike other movements, was organised outside India by Indian emigrants, and in it the Sikhs played an influential and a dominant part. Its origin and the part it played in the Punjab and elsewhere may here be briefly traced.

Before the British annexed the Punjab, the Northern and the Northwestern parts of this province had very sparsely been populated. Soon with the development of other and canals means of irrigation and cultivation, this part of the country was colonised and enterprising Sikhs from the Eastern Punjab, migrated to this part and became the wealthiest agricultural community of India. But it was not long before, the increase in family and some factors led to the fragmentation of holdings. The development of the evil of moneylenders impoverished them further. The monsoons failed successively from 1905 to 1910 thus resulting in a famine. The imperialistic and economic exploitations of the British as Dr. Tarak Nath Das writes in his 'India in world Politics,' added to their poverty and forced this enterprising community to seek other means of employment, and elsewhere outside their country.

In the beginning they migrated to Bengal but later also to Burma, Malaya States, Hong Kong, Singapur, China and other places where they worked as watchmen, policemen, electricians and taxi drivers, etc. In 1888, some Sikh troops attended Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London and on their way back visited Canada, where they were impressed by its riches. Soon steamship companies were set up, which attracted the Punjabis, more particularly the Sikhs, who began to travel thither. In 1904, when the Sikhs in Hong Kong and Shanghai, etc. learnt of the high remunerations and profits available in Canada and the United States of America, a large number of them also decided to go over to those countries. The number of Indians who had migrated to other countries was only 45 in 1904-05, but in 1906 and 1907 the

figure increased to 2,124 and by 1907 to 2,623. By 1914, about 20 lakh Indians were working and residing outside India. Africa alone claiming 1,49,790 of them. Whole over the American Continent, the number of the Indian emigrants, by 1910 ran into five figures.

The infilteration of the cheap Indian labour effected American labour agitation for higher wages in 1906 and 1907, with the result that the American workers began to despise these Indians. In 1906, the Canadian Legislature passed the Immigration Act to control the influx of Asiatics into that country. In 1907, the British Columbia Legisluture dispossessed the Indians of their right to vote, and in 1908, the Municipal franchise was also taken away from them. Later, the already settled Indians also began to be got rid of through several new means. The Sikhs built a Gurdwara in 1906-07, at Vancouver in the British Columbia at the cost of £ 15,000. Many Sikhs set up their factories in the country. With the efforts of St. Teja Singh, the 'Guru Nanak Mining Company' was set up with a capital of 2½ lakh rupees. At the Eagle Harbour, 250 acres of land was purchased at £ 25,000 for Guru Nanak Colony and another Gurdwara was built at Victoria. All this developed a jealousy in the European minds. The authorities tried to prevail upon these Indians to migrate to British Honduras, whereas they propagated, better prospects would be available, but which was only a land covered with forests, and with a scarce supply of good drinking water. The Indians could not be trapped and the authorities were yet further antagonised.

The policy of racial discrimination in South Africa hardly needs much of explanation. Here many restrictions were placed upon Indians and many discrim inatory taxes imposed on them. In 1893 Mahatma Gandhi had to start an agitation against this attitude of the South African Government which continued for twenty-one years. In 1912 *Sriyut* Gokhle visited Africa to see the fight of the Indians.

In Figi the condition was no better. The Indians there were treated inhumanly, and they being not permitted to send for their families, they were loosing their character. Mr. G.W. Burton in his Fiji Today,' gives a heart-rending story. Thus he writes, an Indian woman leaving her sick child in a coolie-line, went away to work in the field. In the mid-day recess when she came back in the line to see his ailing child, she was spied by a European sergeant who began to

beat her blindly with a cane. The Indian woman with her ailing child was falling on the sergeant's feet, but he paid no heed and went on beating her.

In Australia and Newzealand, the conditions were no better, and the South Indian's were equally despised in Malaya.

Several efforts were made on the American continent to get the grievances of the Indians redressed. But they all failed. On March 14, 1913, a deputation consisting of Bhai Balwant Singh from Vancouver, and Sardar Nand Singh and Sardar Narayan Singh of Phillaur arrived in England. But there too they failed in winning the attention of the authorities. The deputation then came to India. Meetings were held at several places. In a meeting at Amritsar, Bhai Balwant Singh expressed the grievences very clearly. The deputation also met the Viceroy and the Governor of the Punjab at Shimla. But nothing came out of all this and the deputation had to go back discontented.

Before, however the deputation reached back in America, the Indian emigrants there had already realised, that the root-cause of all their troubles was the slavery of India itself, and till She got her independence, no Indian could expect an honourable treatment by the inhabitants of any country of the world. In March 1913, therefore Kartar Singh Saraba, Karam Singh Chima, Lala Har Dyal, Jawala Singh, Sohan Singh Bhakna and Wasakha Singh, etc. invited the settlers in a conference at Washington. About two hundred attended and founded the 'Hindi Association,' which later began to be called the Ghadr Party.

Head Quarters of the party were to be at San Francisco, and its aim was to liberate India by force. The first President of the party was Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, the Chief Secretary Lala Har Dyal, the Treasurer Pandit Kanshi Ram of Ambala and the Organising Secretaries were Munshi Karim Bakhsh of Ludhiana and Munshi Ram of District Hoshiarpur. Among the members of its Executive Committee were, Baba Arur Singh of Chuhr Chak in Ferozepur, Wasakha Singh Dadehr of Amritsar, Bhai Karam Singh Chima of Jullundur, Kartar Singh Saraba of Ludhiana, Nidhan Singh Chuga of Ferozepur, Ishar Singh Margna of Amritsar, Pandit Jagat Ram Hariana, District Hoshiarpur, Barkatulla and Munshi Karim Bakhsh.

Majority of the settlers being Sikhs, in the party too they had a majority. Leaders and the members of the Executive Committee, all of them handed over their property and cash ■ the party.

In October, 1913, the second meeting of the Hindi Association decided to bring out a paper of their own, and on November 1, 1913, was thus the 'Ghadr' started, which was published simultaneously in Hindi, Gurmukhi, Urdu and Marathi. Har Dyal was appointed as its editor, who was soon arrested, but bailed out by his friends, he was helped by them to escape at the cost of bail bonds. Har Dyal thus disappeared from the scene in the United States.

Besides Har Dyal, other important persons who worked in the press for the 'Ghadr,' were Kartar Singh Saraba, Harnam Singh Kotla Nodh Singh and Prithvi Singh Ambala. Manager of the press was Pandit Jagat Ram Hariana. The party bore only their expenses of food and clothings, no other remuneration was paid. The Paper began soon to reach Argentina, Fiji, India, Australia, Newzealand, Zanzibar, East Indies, Siam, Malaya, Burma, China and Japan. Branches of the Party were likewise established in different countries of the world.

The British anxieties in the Punjab increased when just after the War began, thousands of the Sikh emigrants, inspired under the Ghadr propaganda and determined to make their country independent, began to come in the Punjab, who if spread over the Province, were bound to make the British life extremely difficult. Government of India already had 'Foreigner's Ordinance,' to prevent entry and control the movements in India of undesirable aliens. On this basis, the 'Ingress Ordinace' of September 5, 1914 was passed to deal with the Indian emigrants coming back to India. A serious problem arose for the British authorities in the Punjab, when on the 27th Sept.

Pingle and Parma Nand were sentenced to death. Pingle was hanged but Parma Nand's sentence was commuted to life transportation by the Viceroy and was later released. In brief, 175 accused in Ghadr conspiracy were brought before Special Tribunals. Of these 136 were convicted of offences nearly all punishable with death; 38 were sentenced to death, but in 18 cases the sentences were commuted to life transportation, and 20 were actually hanged. Fifty-eight were transported for life and 58 were transported or imprisoned for shorter periods. In 115 cases forfeiture of property was ordered but in most

of them it was remitted by the Local Government. Those who were interned, were later released on security and by the end of the war, only some half a dozen were still detained.

The government took several other measures to crush the movement. The old policy of "divide and rule" was used. "With the assassination of Ram Chandra by a Sikh Ghadr agent for treachery and fund manipulation, the Hindus were encouraged and cajoled to leave the party. Similarly Dr. Syed Hussain and Shaukat Ali toured the State and started ■ Moslem League to weasn away the Mohammedans. Some prominent Sikh members were also deceived in heading a dissident movement....

"Charges were also levelled that the party was operating as a smuggling ring through Maxico and was at the back of frequent Hindu murders." The U.S. Immigration Service and the British Consulate selected Indian informers on such activities, though many of them, as Nagina Ram, Sant Ram Pande, Nana Lal, Nathu Ram and Sheru Ram in the United States, and Hopkinson, an exofficial of the Indian C.I.D. were got killed by the Party.[17]

In the badly effected districts of the Punjab, committees of the local Sikh magnates were established, who helped the Deputy Commissioners in enquiring into the conduct of the emigrants and helped in controling them. This naturally led to the assassination of many of the loyal magnates. In June 1915, for instance Achar Singh of Amritsar was murdered. In August, Kapur Singh of Amritsar met the same fate. In most such cases, the murderers were captured and punished.

The Communist Infiltration

The attempt at a revolt in the Punjab having failed, the surviving Ghadr leaders returned to the United States to take a reappraisal of the situation. Under the pressure of the British Government, a case was filed here against 31 Indians on charges of violating the neutrality laws of that country. Many Indians alongwith several German agents were thus sentenced to varying imprisonments. In the San Quentin Prison, Bhai Santokh Singh, ■ prominent member of the inner committee of the party, came into contact with a Russian agent who pursuaded him to align his party with the International Communism.

After his release, Santokh Singh convinced some of his colleagues. And was deputed alongwith Rattan Singh to go to Moscow where they entered into the alliance. Santokh Singh returned to India and started ■ communist weekly called "Kirti" and Rattan Singh returned to the United States to report about the alliance. The communists thus infiltrated into the party and the leaders of the Ghadr Party in California frankly admitted that since Russia was working to free India it was only natural that these two movements should join hands. But this alliance "was known only to very few of the 'inner' members of the party."

The activities of the Party continued unabated, outside India. The Ghadr influence it was, which resulted in the Sikh and the Mahommedan troops refusing to fire on the Chinese at Shamcen. The contacts were resumed with Germany and Japan during the Second World War.

With the attainment of India's independence in 1947 the Ghadr Headquarters became a "scene of acrimonious debate." "Communist agents in persons and by letter, insisted that the relationship be continued, that India was far from free, that more and large sums be raised." However the Ghadr leaders in California were convinced that the aim for which the party was founded had been realized and that any farther connection with the communist movement would land them into trouble with the American government. Besides, the members were tired and weary of the long struggle and voted to disband the party. Consequently in the early part of 1948 the building and the other assets of the party were turned over to the Indian Government through Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Indian Ambassador to United States. The title was completely transferred to the Indian Government in 1952 and it was announced that the building would be kept "either as a residence for government representatives or as a cultural centre."[18]

Thus ended the efforts of the simple and in most cases uneducated people entirely in the foreign surroundings, to contribute their little bit in the India's fight for independence. The Indian Ghadr Party represents a chapter of violence in India's history, and hundreds of those who sacrificed their lives, homes and hearth, will remain ever a source of inspiration to generations for come.

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17. *Spokesman Weekly* of Feb. 9, 1955.
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7

Early Career

In the famous district of Jullundur of which one finds mention in the old Aryan literature, there is a Tehsil by the name of Nawanshahr (New Town); in this Tehsil and in the Thana of Banga is situated a village of certain importance known as Khatkar Kalan (The Great Khatkar).

This place used to be a fortress once belonging to a feudal chief. Who had, besides this, a number of other fortresses, but these were smaller than this and for this reason these were called *Garh Khurd* (small fort). The place of my birth was called *Garh Kalan* (Big fort).

A member of the family of my ancestors who lived in the district of Lahore in a village called Narli had, in days gone by during the Mughal period, lift his village in his youth for the purpose of carrying the ashes of the family members cremated in Narli to the sacred water of Ganges at Haridwar. On his way one evening seeing it getting dark, he reached the big fortress mentioned above, and asked the gatekeeper sent a word through a young boy to the lord of the fortress who ordered that the young stranger be brought into his presence. The young man was received into the big saloon where the lord with his wife and his beautiful young daughter (was) sitting at ease. The stranger saluted the family very politely which was responded with no less civility. The very attractive, manly and handsome face of the young visitor with his bright eyes impresses the family so well that they all got up to give him a hearty welcome. He was invited to sit on a chair between the lord and the lady facing their daughter. A warm conversation about his journey and the cause of the same kept them busy till the dinner was ready. At the table they had become pretty familiar. However, something strange was happening while the host and the hostess were

busy talking to their guest. The young daughter of the hosts was getting enamoured of the guest, (their) eyes on meeting each other carried the deepest and the most intimate message from and to one another.

After dinner the family listened to some stories of adventure of their young guest with great interest. Had he not insisted on going to bed early so as to get up early in the morning and resume his journey, they would have liked him to go on narrating his stories till dawn. The lord accompanied him to the mansion especially kept for his son, guests and seeing him comfortably settled withdrew bidding him a good night.

On his return to his mistress (*sic*) he found his daughter talking to her mother about the charms she perceived in the young guest of the night, and expressed the desire of becoming wife of one like him. Without expressing it, the parents seemed to have the same idea. They admired the young man before their daughter and said words in appreciation of his manners, loveliness and bold and frank attitude. And they went to sleep as well. But the lord before going to bed ordered his servants to wake him up in the morning as soon as their guest woke up.

Next morning the young man got up at about four, and made himself busy with his toilet. The servant according to his master's order had gone to wake him up. The host and the guest seemed to be quick because at about half past four both had gone through their toilets and were dressed up, ready for the new day's work.

The host came to the young man's room, saluated him, patted on his back to show affection and asked him abruptly, "Are you married young man?" "Not yet," replied the young fellow. Then the lord of the fortress asked the young man if he would on his return journey give him the honour of being their guest for the second time. To this the young man agreed and saying goodbye the host and the guest separated.

The young man had understood, specially after his being questioned about his being married, what the invitation of his host meant. So he went on his journey musing about the idea, and making castles in the air just thinking about his future life, planning the building of a suitable house for himself and his beloved.

He had yet to walk for many a day, but there was something in him now which pushed him on to reach the sacred river, the Ganges, the soonest possible. He continued his journey...enthusiastically and soon reached Haridwar. Here he took his ablutions, entrusted the sacred remains of his family members to mother Ganges, dipped his body in the fresh stream and started his backward journey.

Free from all anxiety and full of hope and enthusiasm about his future life, he was marching by strides so much so that he reached the fortress a week earlier than the time he had calculated at the time of his departure.

In his absence preparations were made to receive him not as a stranger but as the would-be-husband of the fair daughter of the lord of the place. The only favour asked by the parents was that the couple should not move from there; but they should stay with them not as guests but as masters of the place. Thus, it was that the big fortress given in dowry served as a residence for the newly married couple. From the day of the marriage onward the place began to be called *Khat Garh Kalan* (Dowry big fortress). The position got changed altogether and the former proprietors who had resolved to give their fortress as a dowry at the marriage of their only child to their son-in-law became the guests of their daughter and son-in-law.

It is from this couple that our family descends. By the march of time the walls of the fortress were demolished, and the foundations of big village and the deep ditches that surrounded the fortress were changed into four big tanks which survive till today, and served as bathing place for the people, the ducks and other animals as well. When heavy rains come, two of these tanks, sometimes three of them, get united by the flood leaving one point which is the highest, uncovered by waters and where the ducks on such occasions prefer to lay their eggs.

Family History

The ancestors of the family used to hold a *dewan* (Darbar) where justice was administered and receptions held. That place is still called by the name of *Dewan Khana* (or the court room).

During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh[1] and long before that our family people lived as and were considered to be feudal lords who

supplied a fixed number of soldiers to the state in times of war. Sikh national flag was raised and upheld under the patronage of my ancestors and as a commemoration of that there was a spacious building sixty yards long where four times in a year people collected in sufficient numbers and celebrated ceremonies of the historical national flag. The place is known by the name of *Jhandaji, i.e.* the respectable flag. The maintenance of this place or (Temple) Gurudwara depends on the donations offered by the people who come from most of the villages in the districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. So much respect was in the heart of the founder of our family in Khat Kalan for the sacred national flag that when once people from Narli came and begged him to shift back to the resident of his fore-fathers, he told them that first of all he did not want to leave the place because of the pledge he had given to his father-in-law and mother-in-law but there was another and important reason for not abandoning the place. It was the flag which he respected more than his own life. One of my forefathers seeing that the foreigners after the death of Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of the Punjab, had begun the mischievous game of usurping the rights of the people and of enslaving the inhabitants of the only really national independent country in the continent of India *i.e.*, the Punjab, resolved to take up arms for repelling British intruders. He joined the forces that were fighting against the British, and took valiant part in the famous battles at Mudki,[2] Aliwal[3] and Sabraon.[4] As a result of fighting against the British the Jagirs held by our family got reduces. But when some Chiefs and Rajas went to help the Britishers in 1857 against their own compatriots who were fighting a war of independence sacrificing their lives for the liberation of their countrymen from the terrible yoke of the English imperialists, Sardar Fateh Singh, my dear grandfather, was also invited by the Majithia Sardar Surat Singh,[5] the father of late Sunder Singh.[6] He bluntly refused to take up such an abject task. He was told by S. Surat Singh that the lost Jagirs of family would be recovered or substituted by others if he accompanied him to fight against the troops that wanted to make India free. S. Fateh Singh replied that he would better lose what was still left with him than to fight against his own countrymen. The fact was narrated to me by himself repeatedly. I was quite a child and was often taken in the morning to the sugarcane fields where on my return from the fields I used to come sucking the sugarcane all along the way and hearing the

details of the Sikh wars for the defence of their country and some details of the event occurring about a decade later, the Indian war of independence of 1857. I asked him how the foreigners could succeed against the Indian patriots in 1857. He told me regretfully that it was due to the help rendered by the Punjabis that the foreigners could remain in India to suppress all the liberties and exploit in the worst possible way this land of our forefathers. These tales created a curiosity in my mind to have a chance of seeing the foreigners who had remained as rulers in our country. I saw sometimes a Tehsildar or a Sub-Inspector coming to our place. They were all Punjabis. With S. Fateh Singh I could not get a chance of seeing an Englishman or an English officer. But I succeeded in seeing English officer by going in the company of S. Surjan Singh who used to run after the foreigners. I saw my uncle salaaming first the officer who was younger than him and he did not know how to speak our language well. I rather laughed at his expressions. My uncle was making me signs of stopping my laughter, but I could not help. My uncle said that I was his nephew. This foreigner looked to be annoyed on seeing that I did not salute him. My uncle talked with him a little bit more. After that the officer rode his horse and said to my uncle, *Ham Nawanshahar janeko mangta hai, Tumko lot sakta hai,*[7] and there the fellow spurred his horse and away he went. I and my uncle returned home. He looked to be annoyed with me and said: "I will never bring you with me to see a *Saheb* in future." I asked my uncle if *Saheb.* was this foreigner's name or all foreigners were called *Sahebs.* You are a foolish boy, why did you not salute him?" Upon which I said, "He was more foolish than I, all he spoke was wrong. I although a child could teach him to speak. His parents must be idiots who did not teach him to speak correctly. Why should I salute such a foolishmen?" I was told to shut up. So we did not speak for a few minutes, then the silence was broken by myself. I asked my uncle why this fellow was seen here and what was his job? Uncle said he was a *Saheb* which means a milord and master. I asked him again, "Why don't you rule? why should be come? You are older than him, more intelligent than he looks to be. He does not even know how to talk nor does he understand what people tell him?" My uncle again told me that I was talking nonsense. By this time we had reached our *Dewan Khana* from where he sent me home with a message of sending for him a glass of *Lussie.*[8] The impression I had was not very

good. I heard several times after that my uncle saying to the people that he was going to see a *Saheb*, but he did not take me alongwith him. Another day by chance I was playing with my cousin near a well by the side of the metalled road leading to Nawanshahar and Rahon when an englishman accompanied by some Indians appeared there. He alighted from the horse, and looking back towards our village I was my uncle just at a distance of a few steps. As I knew he did not like me to be near him when there was some *Saheb*, I concealed myself behind a tree and from there I watched my uncle salute the *Saheb* with a great bow which irritated me. I heard him talking to this new foreigner. My impression of a *Saheb* remained the same which I had formed by seeing one the first time because the second fellow looked as foolish as the former. This time the uncle accompanied him on his journey and I could not follow them. In the evening when my uncle returned, I told him that all the *Sahebs* were ignorant people. None of them knew to speak correctly. I heard this new fellow talking to him today, "Ham Jana" meaning thereby, "we go." That made me laugh. Uncle asked how could I hear his talk to him. I told him that I was hiding behind the tree near the well and heard this talk. My curiosity was thus satisfied and the conclusion I had drawn was I would not take the *Saheb* as servants nor give them any job as all of them were fools.

Amrit

As a kid I was taken alongwith my elder brother to Anandpur for the performance of the ceremony of Sikh Baptism which is called *Pohal or Amrit chhakna*. It was the time of *Holi* festival which the Sikhs, after their masculine fashion, call *Hola*. I remember very well the sugar water given to us as a drink for making us *Singhs* and immortals. A part of it was sprinkled on the faces as a sign of sanctification. This ceremony teaches the person who undergoes it not to fear death, and to fight against the oppressors, tyrants and the unjust people and to protect the weak, the poor, the old, the children and womenfolk from all sorts of molestation. From that day onward one has to be pure in body and heart. This is why the Sikhs are called *Khalsa i.e.* pure. After the ceremony is performed those having outwardly an appearance of the *Khalsa* but having their hearts and

sometime their bodies too full of impurities are a disgrace to the *Panth* and to the sacred cause. (This was) preached by the *Guru*. On the *Hola* festival a red colour substance known as *Gulal* was thrown on the faces and clothes of people joining the festival. It appeared quite lovely to see people (with) new clothes, faces and bodies besmeared with the red colour, going to Anandpur on a festival for the ceremony of *Pohal*. Our family from the time of the tenth Guru[9] always took the male members there.

Education

I had my primary education in my village. My father knew Persian thoroughly well and had studied Arabic grammar as well. He had studied, besides, the *Unani* system of medicine. He began to teach us the Persian language soon after we had learnt the Urdu alphabet and we could read Urdu, Persian and Arabic words because it contains all the letters of Arabic alphabet...Thus (at an) early age I and my elder brother had read *Gulistan* (the Garden of Roses)[10] which was written by the great and immortal Persian author, Sadi. I passed middle from Banga. When I was studying in middle my father, who was a sympathiser of Arya Samaj, took me to an annual gathering of Arya Samaj. There I heard a lecture on the benefits of wearing Swadeshi cloth. He (the speaker) explained how the use of foreign cloth was proving a drain on the wealth of the nation. On my return, I called the village weaver, and the whole family took to Swadeshi. From that day my feeling went on increasing that the alien rule was undesirable.

S. Dilbagh Singh, one of my cousins, used to study in a Mission School where the teachers were British missionaries. In used to take it ill. I insisted on my uncle that we must start a school in Jullundur where we should have teachers of our country who should be patriots. The local Arya Samaj wanted to start a school there. Lala Sunder Dass, a prominent Arya Samajist, agreed to become Headmaster. So my uncle started a school in Jullundur. I passed my Matriculation Examination from that School. Sunder Dass was a great patriot. He used to preach patriotism in his speeches in school. Being a religious institution, they used to regard the Muslims as foreigners. He wrote a book called *Pearl Necklace* containing stories of Rajput bravery and heroism, particularly of Rana Pratap, also of Sikh Gurus. In my opinion

these religious institutions have done a great harm to the country by creating divisions among communities of India. Sunder Das used to preach Swadeshi. As a result about 70 per cent of students in that school took to Swadeshi. It was about 1893 or 1894. After finishing my education there I came to D.A.V. College, Lahore. Principal Hans Raj[11] was very kind to me and he used to tell us about the history of other countries. I used to ask him questions about sacrifices people had made in their countries. I read Urdu translation of Garibaldi's and Mazzini's life stories and this had good effecft on me. Mulk Raj Bhalla wrote stories and poems called *Shahidon ki Kahanian*[12]. I read this book also and this had a powerful effect on my mind. I read stories or sacrifices of the *Gurus* in Punjabi. I was much impressed by their spirit of sacrifice and service of man. After finishing my education in Lahore I went to Barreilly College to study law. I remained in Barreilly for a year or so but did not take my studies seriously because by then political consciousness had awakened in me and taken a firm foot. I had begun hating the alien rule through and through and wanted to see my country independent. I had also developed a revolutionary trend in me.

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1. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the ruler of Punjab from 1799 to 1839.
2. On December 18, 1845 was fought the opening battle of the First Anglo-Sikh War at Mudki, a small Village about twenty miles from Ferozepur.
3. The battle of Aliwal was fought on the morning of Sunday, January 28, 1846.
4. The final and the decisive engagement of the First Anglo-Sikh war was fought at Sabraon, a village on the left bank of the Satluj, on February 10, 1846.
5. Sardar Surat Singh Majithia was an Honorary Magistrate and a rich Jagirdar who had been granted a Jagir by the Government in recognition of his help in the great rebellion of 1857. He had close associations with some of the Sikh states, particularly Patiala and Faridkot.
6. B. 1872: Sikh leader and social reformer; Secretary of the Chief Khalsa Dewan and Khalsa College, Amritsar; President of the Sikh Educational Conference four times from 1908 to 1940; additional member of the Punjab Legislative Council from 1911 to 1916; nominated member of the imperial Legislative Council in 1916; member of the Viceroy's Executive Council

in 1919; as a representative of the Sikh community; member of the Punjab Cabinet in 1937; d. 1941.

7. I wish to go to Nawanshahr; you can go back.
8. Buttermilk.
9. Guru Gobind Singh, 1666-1708.
10. The correct translation if "the Garden of Flowers."
11. B. 1860; Principal, D.A.V. College, Lahore, 1888-1911; President, National Social Conference, 1919' d. 1938.
12. "Stories of Martyrs."

8

Role in Politics

While at Barreily thought of developing connections with the King of Nepal. With this end in view and accompanied by my brother, Sardar Kishen Singh, we decided to occupy land near the Nepal border so that in case of need revolutionary workers from India could escape into Nepal territory. We were then preparing ground for revolutionary work. [I] had already made up my mind to become a revolutionary and all these plans were in furtherance of this idea.

About that time Lord Curzon[1] held a *durbar* in January 1903. We went to that *durbar* with a view to bringing about solidarity among the Indian Princes to create a solid front against the British.[2] We saw Maharaja of Baroda.[3] Baroda was then the most progressive state in India. He wanted to make national education compulsory, and I informed him that we could procure for him Arya Samajist teachers. [I] suggested to Baroda that the Princes should invite each other to develop closer contacts and friendship. For this purpose we elicited cooperation of the *Gurus* of Kashmir and Jodhpur states. We contacted them before the *durbar* and requested them to act as messengers between the various princes or act as liaison. They helped us a lot. Kashmir and Baroda invited each other there. We went to Dalhousie and the *Guru* of Kashmir was there to meet us. He took us to Chamba and there we met the Maharaja of Chamba. My elder brother, Sardar Kishen Singh, helped me a lot in this plan. My plan was a joint revolt by the Indian Princes against the British rule and people of India giving a lead. The main-spring of this organisation were my elder brother and myself. He had dedicated his life to the cause of humanity. He used to help a lot the famine-stricken people. We had a success at Curzon *durbar.* We arranged that the Princes should invite each other

and that there should be intermarriages among them. The only Punjab state we approached was Kashmir. We did not trust Sikh states. Swami Parkasha Nand (though not openly) helped us a lot by visiting states as a Vedic missionary. Swami Shankara Nand also did something in the line. [I] had arrived at secret understanding with some of the states for the supply of arms and ammunition to Indian revolutionaries. [I] had also considered at what time the Indian states would openly enter into the struggle begun by the revolutionaries in British India. Motilal Ghosh[4] (Proprietor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*) was aware of the arrangement with the states. He used to be our associate. The only other person who knew of this arrangement was Kali Purson Chatterjee,[5] Editor of *The Tribune*.

The Congress, we felt at that time, was going on a wrong path. It confined only to petitions to Government. I left Barreilly college to devote more time to revolutionary work. In order to prepare myself for revolutionary work against the British Government, I considered it necessary to understand the British mind and mentality fully and intimately. For this purpose I thought it useful to engage myself in some profession where I would come into close contact with the British. I, therefore (took) up the profession of teaching Urdu and Punjabi to British officers and missionaries, forest officers; military (personnel) and civilians joined my school.

About that time the Congress held its biggest session in Calcutta—1906. Romesh Chandra Dutt[6] (who was Professor of History at Oxford University and who was the first Indian to write a book on how the British ruined Indian industry and how they captured India) and Dadabhai Naoroji[7] also participated in that session. I also went to Calcutta with the idea of gathering all those who were in opposition to the existing Congress policy with a view to having it changed. At Calcutta Congress we had decided to launch simultaneous agitation, just as there was agitation in Bengal, wherever some basis could be found, similar or different. On returning to Punjab, we formed *Bharat Mata Society*. To start with we were three, my elder brother, Sardar Kishen Singh, Ghasita Ram and myself. The idea originated with me. This was formed to propagate our ideas. Only trustworthy persons were taken in as it was a secret society, no announcement was made for its formation, no publicity was undertaken, nor were any

publications or membership forms or registers kept. Excessive land revenue increase in Rawalpindi district,[8] Doab Bari Act[9] and Colonisation Act[10] provided us ground to arouse public feelings against the British rule in Indian especially in the Punjab and to launch a campaign of agitation and to exploit these acts for using them against the British Government. This was a means to bring about awakening and political consciousness among the public and to get these measures cancelled. I informed my elder brother, Sardar Kishen Singh, and L. Ghasita Ram of my intentions, and explained to them how I wanted to bring about a revolution in the Punjab and I was assured of their support. My brother was of the opinion that it would be better to enlist L. Lajpat Rai's[11] support as also that of other prominent leaders in the Punjab. I acquiesced and commended the idea but was very doubtful whether their support would be forthcoming, but thought that there would at least be no harm in trying. My brother (S. Kishen Singh) undertook to do this and he contacted L. Lajpat Rai and informed him of our ideas and explained to him (how) awakening could be brought about in the Punjab to shake the foundations of the British Empire in India. L. Lajpat Rai did not receive the proposition well: he was afraid that this would bring suffering to and imprisonment of all prominent leaders; he considered it a rash step and me a hot-headed person. He refused to participate in the movement but promised to consider the proposal and let us know if it was feasible for him as also for us to start such a movement. In fact, he tried to discourage my brother also.

When my brother told me of L. Lajpat Rai's reactions to the proposal. I asked him and L. Ghasita Ram if they were firm in their conviction of the efficacy of this movement and if they were prepared to give their whole-hearted and unflinching support to it. They assured me of their whole-hearted support.

We chalked our plans. The first was to study these bills and understand them fully. Thus, we studied the bills in detail and fully acquainted ourselves with the implications of these acts and their detrimental effect on the peasantry. This done, we organised meetings at different centres in Lahore, morning and evening. These meetings were addressed by my brother and L. Ghasita Ram. At the end of each meeting annoucements were made that those who wanted to know more about these Bills should come to *Bharat Mata Mandir* on Sunday

where these bills would be explained in fuller details. Just at that time when these meetings were taking place in Lahore, peasants from adjoining villages waited upon L. Lajpat Rai in deputation and solicited Congress help in getting these bills cancelled. L. Lajpat Rai disappointed them by saying that Congress was helpless in doing anything for them and that these bills could not be got cancelled. These deputationists came to know from Lahore public about the meetings taking place daily in Lahore against these bills and that a large meeting was to take place on Sunday in Lahore in *Bharat Mata Mandir.* They also came to *Bharat Mata Mandir* on Sunday. People in thousands gathered at that meeting. There was a lot (of) enthusiasm among the gathering. Never before in Lahore had there been so much gathering for a political meeting for which no publicity had been undertaken. This baffled the police and the authorities, and a wave of terror went through their veins. They sent for military from Mianmir cantonment as they considered police force in Lahore insufficient to cope with the situation. *Bharat Mata Mandir* could not contain the entire audience. All roads and approaches to the *Mandir* were full of people. The number was ever increasing: Sunday being a holiday it also helped in swelling the audience. There was no arrangement for a loudspeaker and although all the people could not listen me, their enthusiasm kept them to stay on. A day before the meeting Sufi Amba Pershad[12] reached Lahore. He was posted at the gate to control the crowd. In the centre of the *Mandir* compound was placed a table from where I spoke. when I got up to speak I looked around and said that I knew there were among the audience C.I.D. people. Wherever these persons were we too had own people alongside them and that if they tried to create disturbance they world be dealt with severely; perhaps it might cost them their lives. This declaration caused the C.I.D. people to betray themselves and to expose their identity by locking round and the result was that during my speech they had not the courage even to lift their eyes. I spoke for about 2½ hours and explained to the audience how the new bills were harmful to their interests, and that how the British had always acted against the people, how the British had always tried to plunder this country by the mischievous ways. Throughout my speech enthusiasm went on increasing and there was no sign of fatigue in the public. In detail I explained Doab Bari revenue enhancement because Lahore and adjoining areas were affected by the measure.

Increase of land revenue in Rawalpindi district and Colonisation Act also came under review, but (these) were not so fully explained. I laid stress on the injustices of British Raj, Indigo Act[13] and how they destroyed Indian industry. This proved an eye-opener to the public who had always considered the British just and fair-minded people. British prestige was shaken; nobody after that considered the British just or even humane. British people were much inferior in number, that police was ours, most of the military was ours and that if we moved unitedly we could drive the British out. This brought awakening and political consciousness among the public and they lost terror of the British. After finishing my speech I announced that on Sunday next there would be another meeting, the public could go now, only those should stay who wanted to participate in the movement and were prepared to undergo sufferings and make sacrifices. About 180 persons stayed, the rest left and they assured me of their willingness to make any sacrifice in the cause of the country. I allotted them duties and sent some of them to Lyallpur district and asked them to tour villages and explain to the public the harm these measures would do them. I choose Lyallpur district as our centre for agitation because of it being a newly developed area. It had people from almost all parts of the Punjab as also retired military people. Retired military people, I thought, could be useful in bringing about a revolt in the army. These men in their tour of Lyallpur district explained to the people how injustice was being done to the public in the shape of Doab Bari Act, Colonisation Act and increase of land revenue. After having prepared this ground an epoch-making meeting was held in Lyallpur on 3rd March,[14] 1907. At this meeting Mr. Banke Dayal, Editor of *Jhang Sayal*, read the historic poem "Pugree Sambhal oh Jatta."[15]

It became very popular and it was heard everywhere in the Punjab resounding the skies. People, however mistook this poem as mine.

It was our desire that L. Lajpat Rai and other prominent leaders should participate in this meeting, but we knew that they would refuse if they came to know that I was organiser of this meeting. So we deputed Ram Bhuj Dutt[16] to encourage and persuade L. Lajpat Rai and other leaders to come to Lyallpur and address the meeting. From Lahore to Lyallpur, Lala and his party and myself travelled in the same

train but I took care not to allow Lala to become aware of this fact. We had arranged that Lala should be given a warm reception at the Lyallpur station, and people gathered in huge numbers to receive him. He was given a tremendous ovation and profusely garlanded, and taken out in a procession. His carriage was drawn by men instead of animals to show public esteem and regard for him. I availed (of) this opportunity to my advantage and straight from the Railway Station I went to the meeting and addressed it. As soon as Lala reached the meeting I finished my speech. Lala on seeing me there shuddered. I explained to the public about our strength, that police and military were ours, that instead of paying enhanced land revenue we should not pay a penny to the government.

Lala was first hesitant in addressing the meeting but people shouted that they were anxious to listen to Lalaji; in fact Lala was compelled to do go, because I winked at Ram Bhuj Dutt and he stood up and announced that Lalaji would now address the meeting. Lalaji at first started in restraint but seeing the public enthusiasm, he made one of his finest speeches, full of eloquence and spirit. His speech over, two or three other speakers spoke and then again I spoke. When I was making my second speech the organizers of the meeting did not like me to speak and they said that they were not responsible for the meeting and (they) left. But the public continued listening me. In this speech I stressed that the police and military ware composed of *zamindars*,[17] and that these men should resign and come back to their homes. Land revenue should not be given. Government servants and officials should be completely boycotted.

1907 being the 50th anniversary of 1857 revolt, the government got terrified. Maltreatment of Indians in army helped in bringing unrest and sudden signs of revolt in the army. The British Government itself helped in winning army support for me by issuing circulars that they should not listen to Ajit Singh. This proved their contribution (*sic*) in alienating army trust and feelings for them. The sudden change in the treatment of Indian soldiers, which (*sic*) were hitherto mis-treated, also created doubts in the minds of India soldiers. The more the Indian soldiers were asked not to listen to me, the more the Indian soldiers drew towards me, if not for anything else only through curiosity.

After Lyallpur meeting I undertook a hurricane tour of the Punjab and visited prominent cities such as Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, Ambala, Jullundur, Kasur, Multan Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, etc. At Ferozepore a deputation of Indian soldiers waited on me and assured me of their support. I explained to them how their loyalty was exploited by the British Government and how their own people were being put to repression and that their first allegiance and loyalty was to their country and their countrymen. The organisers of the Rawalpindi meeting were all arrested[18] and the public there arranged another meeting on 2nd April[19] to which L. Lajpat Rai was invited.

I was of the firm conviction that the meeting would be banned and that Lalaji would not be allowed to speak at the meeting. I also boarded the same train in which Lala was travelling but took care that Lala did not come to know of it. When we reached Rawalpindi, we came to know that the meeting had been banned and Lala was served (with a) notice by the police that he could not speak at the meeting. Lala from Railway Station went to District Courts to plead the case of arrested lawyers. They were the organisers of the previous meeting which I had addressed and I took this opportunity of addressing the crowd which had assembled at the Railway Station. The police on seeing that Lala had left for District Courts went (for) relaxation, considering that there would be no meeting for speeches now and left the field open to me. The military was called out and the commander of the military asked us to disperse failing which he would order shooting. Nobody moved from his place and he ordered for shooting, but Indian soldiers instead of directing their guns at the public aimed them at their commander and said if he gave a similar order again they would shoot him. Seeing this he asked the Indian soldiers to return to the cantonment and himself also left with them. The meeting was over and I came back, but the mob went astray and manhandled many Britishers on their way, burnt offices and churches. The Britishers became harassed and terrified to such an extent that they began mistrusting police, C.I.D., their domestic and even military and all government servants. At Rawalpindi, Indian military personnel wanted to wait upon L. Lajpat Rai in deputation but he refused to receive them. Then the deputation waited on me and I explained to them their duty towards their country and countrymen.

There were riots in Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Lahore, etc. British personnel were manhandled, mud was flung at them, offices and churches were burnt, telegraph poles and wires cut. In Multan Division Railway workers went on strike and the strike was called off only when the acts had been cancelled. The Superintendent of Police, Mr. Phillips, in Lahore was beaten by rioters. British civil servants sent their families to Bombay and ships were chartered to take them to England if the situation got worse. Some families were transferred to forts. My elder brother, S. Kishen Singh and younger brother S. Swaran Singh, were arrested in this connection. Such was the terror that Britishers stopped appearing in public places or going to cinemas or coming to bazars.

Lord Kitchener[20] got terrified since peasantry was becoming rebellious, military and police were unreliable. Morely[21] made a statement in the House of Commons that in all 33 meetings took place in the Punjab, out of which 19 were addressed by S. Ajit Singh. That increase in land revenue was not the cause of this unrest. It was with a view to finishing British rule in India that it was being used as a political stunt.

The result of all this agitation was that all the three bills were cancelled. Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested before the cancellation of these bills (on) 9th May, 1907. This irritated the public further and riots again broke out in Lahore. Guns were installed at Lawrence Garden and other places in Lahore to stop public (from) attacking government offices. On hearing L. Lajpat Rai's arrest I went underground and re-appeared on 2nd June when I gave myself up for arrest. It was in Amritsar. I wrote to police authorities that at a certain time I would go our for a walk when they could come and take me in custody. This I did to avoid public demonstration and to avoid breaking (out) or riots, etc. While underground I spent most of time in a small *mandir* in Lahore, the priest of which was one of our enthusiastic workers.

From Amritsar they took me to Baj Baj taking care not to stop the train. It was a special train by which I was travelling. On any Railway Station whenever it stopped in jungles. From Baj Baj thy took me to Rangoon and from there to Mandalay. While at Mandalay I had a dream in which a friend of mine, S. Kartar Singh of Kasur, appeared and talked to me. He informed me that I would be released from there

on 11th November, 1907 and that the entire country was awaiting my return anxiously and they wanted to honour and reward me befittingly. Although not a believer in dreams, somehow I was convinced that this dream would be true. Certain other factors lent support to my conviction. Lajpat Rai was arrested on 9th and I on 2nd and these two figures added came to 11. In Mandalay jail there was a cat with eleven kitten and all of them were taken away one by one, this was by October. I thought when animals had left this place there was no reason why we should not be released?

It was on the 11th November, and coincidentally (at) 11a.m., when the Commissioner called on us. As soon as I saw him I asked him, "Have you come to serve us release orders?" He was nonplussed. But I said, "You can ask your sergeant whom I had told sometime earlier that we would be released on November 11." On my return to India I came to know that S. Kartar Singh who had met me in dream died a few days after I had dreamt. This pained me very much.

Unlike L. Lajpat Rai,[22] I did not put in a petition about my arrest and confinement at Mandalay.

On 16th April, 1907 there was a riot in Lahore in which my elder brother, S. Kishen Singh and younger brother S. Swaran Singh were involved. S. Kishen Singh alongwith Sufi Amba Pershad and Mehta Kishore[23] fled to Nepal. S. Swaran Singh was arrested and sentenced to 1½ years imprisonment. Nepal did not agree to surrender the above three, but on being promised that British Government would take no action against them Nepal surrendered them. It was after three or four months. The British, however did not keep up their word and they were tried. Sufi Amba Pershad and Mehta Nand Kishore were acquitted but S. Kishen Singh was sentenced.

I started a paper in Allahabad, *Swaraj*. Nine editors of this paper, one by one, were tried and punished, out of which 5 were Punjabis.

There was (both) an open and secret work carried out by *Bharat Mata Society* people. As it was necessary to make a division of labour I (entrusted) Har Dayal[24] with the secret work and kept the open work to myself. He did his work pretty successfully. Of course some of the people selected were involved in some trouble after our departure from India as one can see from the people who were involved in Delhi

Conspiracy Case such as Master Amir Chand[25] who was selected for his capacity of good revolutionary writer to devote his time wholly for writing and secretly publishing necessary literature. He did his work with success. The news of his martyrdom was a cause of spiritual pleasure to me and Sufi Saheb who communicated to me how he alongwith his companions Avdh Bihari,[26] Bhai Bal Mokand,[27] Basant Kumar Biswas[28] valiantly stood the trial and proved to be true patriots and lovers of a sacred cause up to the last breath of their lives. They died to live in the hearts of the people to be remembered with veneration and infinite love.

In all seditious cases between 1907-1911 disclaimers were put forward of having no connections, whatsoever with Sardar Ajit Singh. There were 25 such cases. In my absence from India, there was a case against me. A search was once made of Bhai Parmanand's[29] house and certain papers alongwith a map showing various cantonments, strength of armies and dispositions were discovered. These were given to him by me and there was also a mention about myself in those papers. Disclaimers were put up by prominent persons in the Punjab.

REFERENCES

1. George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925); Under Secretary of State for India, 1891-92; Viceroy of India, 1898-1905; Lord President of the Council and member of the War Cabinet, 1916-18; Foreign Secretary, 1919-24.
2. Some of the early Indian revolutionary idealists, obviously inspired by Italian unification under the banner of the King of Sardinia—Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel II (1820-78), hoped that Indian liberation too could be brought about by the active participation and help of Indian rulers. It may be recalled here that Swami Dayanand (1824-83), founder of the Arya Samaj, too placed great hope on the Indian Rajas for bringing about country's socio-religious regeneration.
3. Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad: b. 1863; ruler of Baroda, 1881-1939; imbued with progressive and reformist ideas, he was the first in the whole of country to introduce compulsory and free primary education in 1906; on account of his love of his country, Swadeshi, Indian heritage and his association with the nationalists he was suspected by the government of having anti-British tendencies. The British bureaucracy considered him as a "Patron of Sedition."
4. B. 1847; founder and editor of the Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and a prominent nationalist; a fearless writer, he did not care for official

disfavour; one of the guiding spirits of the agitation against the partition of Bengal (1905); joined Home Rule League in 1915; d. 1922.

5. B. 1863; joined the staff of The *Tribune*, Lahore, in 1885; he played a pioneering role in the early years of the Indian National Congress; he was an ardent supporter of the anti-Partition agitation and Swadeshi programme for which he was threatened with a government order of expulsion from the Punjab; in 1907 he himself left Punjab and joined the editorial staff of Calcutta's *Amrita Bazar Patrika;* d. 1919.

6. B. 1848; joined I.C.S. in 1869; President, Indian National Congress, 1899; R.C. Dutt was never Professor of History at Oxford; he was lecturer for sometime in Indian history at the University of London; the books referred here are *India Under Early British Rule*, 1757-1857 and the *Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, 1837-1900; d. 1909.

7. B. 1825; prominent early Indian nationalist and social reformer; first Indian Member of British Parliament, 1892-95; President of the Indian National Congress 1886, 1893 and 1906; d. 1917.

8. Land revenue in Rawalpindi district was increased by 25%.

9. In November 1906 the government enhanced the rates for water from the Bari Doab Canal and this affected the landowners in the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Lahore. They greatly resented this increase.

10. The Chenab colony was mostly inhabited by the peasants and military personnel of the central districts of Punjab. They had secured the land either free or on very nominal rates. The new colonies were carefully planned and controlled by local officials. The Punjab Land Colonization Bill (1906) aimed at strengthening the "irksome system of regulations"; it was also proposed to introduce inheritance by primogeniture in order to check the process of subdivision of land-holdings. As it touched off widespread discontent in rural areas, the Viceroy, Lord Minto, vetoed the Bill in May 1907.

11. B. 1865; social reformer and Congress leader; editor of *Young India* (New York) *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) in Urdu and *The People* (Lahore); President of the Indian National Congress (Special Session at Calcutta) 1920; d. 1928.

12. B. 1858; a revolutionary; journalist, founded and edited *Jami-ul-Ulm* in 1896; sub-editor of the Hindustan; took part in the Bharat Mata Movement, Bharat Mata Book Agency and Tilak Ashram; visited Nepal in 1907 to enlist support of the Nepalese for the freedom of India; fled to Iran where he died in 1915.

13. The reference is to the employment of force and oppression by European indigo planters to compel the Indian cultivators to sow indigo when it was not remunerative.

14. Perhaps the reference here is to the mass meeting held at Lyallpur on 21/22 March, 1907.

15. Pagrhi sambhaal oh Jatta; pagrhi sambhaal oh
Faslaan nu kha gaye keerhe, tan te nahin tere lirhe
Bhukaan ne khoob nachorhe, ronde ne hal oh—Pagrhi
Bande ne tere leader, Raje Te Khan bahadur
Tenu te Khaavan khatir, vichh de ne jaal oh—Pagrhi
Hind hai tera Mandir, usda pujari tu
Challega kadon tak, apni khumari
Larhne te merne di, kar le tayyari tu—Pagrhi
Seene te khaave teer, Ranjha tu desh hai Heer
Sambhal ke chal tu vir—Pagrhi
Tussi kyoon dabde veero, uski pukar oh
Ho-ke ikathe veero, maro lalkaar oh
Tarhi do hattharh bajje, chhatiyan nun tarh oh
Pagrhi sambhaal jatta, pagrhi sambhaal oh.
(A translation is attempted below:)
Gaurd your self respect O' farmer
Your crops are being destroyed by insects, you suffer for being ill-clad
Famines have taken a heavy toll, your dependents are made to weep in anguish
Jagirdars and Khan Bahadurs set themselves up as your leaders
They are setting traps to exploit you
India is your temple and you are its worshipper
How long will you remain under the spell of lethargy
Prepare yourself for a fight to death
You may have to face repression
Love your country as Ranjha loved Heer
Tread cautiously, courageous one
Your motherland wants you to shed thoughts of cowardice
Be united and give a threatening challenge
Join hands and put up a brave front
O' farmer guard your self-respect.

16. B. 1866 in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab; member of the Indian National Congress, 1888-1923; journalist; married to Sarla Devi, a revolutionary of Bengal; composed a famous song "Kadi Nahin Harna, Bhaven Sadi Jan Jave"; (We shall never give in even if we have to die); participated in the non-cooperation movement and Khilafat movement; d. 1923.

17. Here meaning peasant-proprietors.

18. A public meeting was held on 21 April, 1907 at Rawalpindi to protest against the Colonisation Bill. Here Ajit Singh delivered a highly

"Seditious" speech. The Deputy Commissioner sent notice to the organisers of the meeting including wellknown and respectable lawyers, (Hans Raj Sawhney, Amolak Ram, Gurdas Ram) and summoned them to his court for an enquiry. A large crowd gathered at the court to express sympathy with the pleaders, and when informed that the proposed enquiry would not be held they committed acts of violence. Sixty-eight persons, including the lawyers, were arrested on charges of rioting, arson and sedition. Later the lawyers were acquitted of the charges. See Pardaman Singh, *Lord Minto and Indian Nationalism*, 1905-1910, (Allahabad, 1976) pp. 38-9.

19. The public meeting was fixed for 2 May 1907, at Rawalpindi.
20. B. 1850; British soldier; Governor General of Sudan (1899); Commander-in-Chief in India, 1902-1909; Field Marshal (1909); d. 1916.
21. B. 1838; English statesman and man of letters; Secretary of State for India (1905-10). Among his notable works are *life of Gladstone* (1903) and *Recollections* (1917); d. 1923.
22. Lala Lajpat Rai in a memorial to the Secretary of State, 22 September 1907, pleaded that he had not taken part in or advocated violent or illegal methods and that he was always within the bounds of law and constitution in expressing his disapproval of his arrest.
23. Revolutionary; secretary of the *Bharat Mata Sabha*.
24. B. 1884; founder of the Ghadar Party in the U.S.A.; staunch revolutionary; started journals life *Ghadar* (U.S.A.) and *Bande Mataram*. (Switzerland); widely travelled man; Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy at the Berkeley University (California); d. 1939.
25. A staunch revolutionary; in 1908 he brought out an Urdu weekly, the *Akash*; involved in a bomb throwing case at Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, in Delhi, (1912); hanged in 1915.
26. A staunch revolutionary; close to Hardyal and Master Amir Chand; active in the revolutionary movement, 1906-11; involved in the Lahore conspiracy case and hanged.
27. B. 1891; revolutionary; implicated in bomb throwing at Lord Hardinge in 1912 and hanged.
28. Basant Kumar Biswas was a staunch revolutionary. He had thrown bomb at Lord Hardinge in 1912, dressed as a woman, at the signal of Rash Behari Bose, from the roof of the Punjab National Bank building as the Viceregal procession was passing near Chandni Chowk.
29. B. 1874; member of the Arya Samaj; implicated in the first Lahore Conspiracy case and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1915; released in 1920; elected to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1931 and again in 1934; social reformer; prolific writer; d. 1947.

9

Patriotic Ideology

1. NATURE OF THE CASE OF THE PUNJABEE

(A part of the speech delivered by Sardar Ajit Singh on 14 April, 1907 at Lahore at the function organised by *Anjuman-i-Muhabban-i-Watan* to express sympathy with the proprietor and editor of the *Punjabee*.[1])

The *Punjabee* is accused of preaching hatred between the Indians and the British. One party is of the Indians and the other is that of the British. There can be no justice when one of the parties, *i.e.* the British, have themselves become the judge. Since the dispute is between the British and the Indians justice demands that it should be decided by a third party, neither British nor Indian, say, the French—so that it may rise above national bias and decide the case on merit.

2. AWAKENING OF THE PUNJAB

(Summary of the speech delivered by Sardar Ajit Singh at Rawalpindi on 21 April, 1907)

After Bengal, now the Punjab is also awake and the awakening of the two provinces has a curious similarity. Bengal was partitioned on 16 October. For Bengal it is a day worthy of remembrance. Similarly in Punjab on 16 April a barbaric decree was passed on the *Punjabee* which, doubtlessly, would prove to be a corner-stone in the independence of the Punjab. There is difference of full six month between 16 October and 16 April. It is all right that in a year we have got two national festivals. But, mind that attainment of independence is not so easy; it would require hard struggle.

(At this juncture, on account of the heavy load of spectators, an iron fence and a roof caved in which resulted in much confusion and

noise. But God be thanked there was no loss of life. Sardar Ajit Singh continued his speech)

It is strange—rather disappointing—that you are so greatly disturbed over this small incident. What would your condition be when struggle greater than this would come your way? Take courage! Advance fearlessly! I am sure that the Punjab, the lion of India, would awaken from its slumber and play a prominent role in the service of the country. You send petitions and memorials to the government and fold your hands before it. But of what avail is it all? Shame on those people who do not abandon the policy of begging. You examine the past and present conditions of India. Once Lord Clive[2] expressed the view that in India there were many cities before which even London paled into insignificance. But where are those cities now? The time has come to make good the loss that we have suffered in the past at the hands of the aliens. Your chest would burst open if you listen to the illegitimate and cruel ways by which the trade and industry of india were destroyed. You should infuse life into the dead industry of the country. Do not fear any opponent, for ultimately truth prevails. We should not accept any honorary rank like honorary magistracy at the hands of the government. In the Bari Doab the government had enhanced the water-tax, but the Jats organised a conference at Lahore and boycotted the canal-water. In a like manner, whenever required to do. You should get your rights from the government on the strength of your unity. In the end, the Hindus and the Muslims are requested to forge unity and they should embrace each other with affection. (If it is done) the day of India' political emancipation is not far off.

3. PRESERVING NATIONAL SPIRIT

(Speech delivered by Sardar Ajit Singh to the National gathering at Surat on the occasion of his coronation on 18 December, 1907)

Honourable countrymen: I know it very well that I do not in any way deserve the honour that you have bestowed upon me. But in people resides God and God is the manifestation of people. Therefore, whatever you do I take it as if it is from God, and hence dutifully I bow by head in acceptance. For me it is not a crown; it is the advance money of the price of my head that already belongs to the nation. The purchase of the crown was needless. It ought to have been offered to

some other deserving person. Anyway, I sincerely appreciate your love and truthful mind. I also believe that you are asking me indirectly that we should preserve our brains, for crown of cap is a thing that protects the head. In our country *chillum*[3] of *hookah*[4] is also called a cap, meaning thereby that it preserves the burning ember. Therefore, we should very vigilantly preserve the national fire (spirit) and prevent it from flaming up. Also, cap is associated with rifle that preserves strength, and at the time of need it facilitates its use. Thus we should preserve national strength with utmost farsightedness so that foreign dampness should not produce the effect of lethargy on it, and that it is ready for use on time. The purpose of these caps is that our brains, our national spirit and national strength should be preserved and used at an appropriate time. I hope you all agree.

4. PATRIOTISM

(Speech of Sardar Ajit Singh delivered at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, on Monday, 9 March 1908)

Today, after a long time, I am standing before my beloved countrymen to say something. At this time I want to speak to you about the release of the lion-hearted leader of Bengal, Babu Bipin Chandra Pal.[5] In India the tradition of festivals has been prevalent from time immemorial. It is an excellent tradition, for it preserves the life of the nation. Maharaja Ram Chander bore hardships in jungles and deserts for twelve years for the sake of upholding a principle embedded in obedience to parents. When, after suffering those hardships, he returned to his country, the festival of "Diwali" came into being to commemorate his home-coming. Now when Ram Chander's son, Bipin Chander Pal, (the name of Bipin Chander's father is Ram Chander) has returned after undergoing privations of jail for the sake of principles, why should we not celebrate this event? We should die to preserve these principles. We do not simply respect Bipin Babu, but we respect his pure and selfless principles. Ram Chander Ji got esteem by obeying his father, but Guru Nanak Dev and Puran Bhagat, for the sake of principles, did not care even for the words of their parents. Bipin Babu has followed Guru Nanak Dev and Puran Bhagat. He antagonised his father, but he did not give up the principle. He was determined to serve the country and the nation. One who suffers

privations for his people really deserves respect. We should be with him in his joy and sorrow. We have gathered here for the sake of this principle. It is a principle's magnetism that people are attracted to a person or a thing. Love of country is patriotism.....Now it is to be seen who is a real patriot. For name and fame many people call themselves patriots but the true and real patriot is one who serves the country without caring for praise or recognition. I give you two examples. During the Mutiny the magazine in the Fort of Delhi was under the charge of General Willoughby. When the adversaries attacked, the General thought that if the magazine was captured by the enemy not even a single British child would be spared. Therefore, when he saw no way out, helpless as he was, he put the magazine on fire and saved it from falling into the hands of the enemy. In a like manner an Indian prince, Feroze Shah by name, showed valour for the sake of his countrymen during the Mutiny. With only two hundred companions he confronted the enemy courageously. When his position became critical, his one faithful follower put all the magazine on fire resulting in the death of hundreds of opposing white men. Patriotism works miracles. But now in India it is all different. Here people are at each other's throat for a trifling.

The sentiment of patriotism is universal in as much as there is no place in the world, be it forest or wilderness, where the inhabitants do not love it. Cretans or the inhabitants of Crete liken this sentiment to motherly affection. Ethiopian negroes opine that God himself created their jungles and deserts, and that the rest of the world was created by the angels. The people of Aden are of the view that the sun, the moon, the stars and the planets were created for them only. The people of Malta living on a rock imaging their island to be the flower of crown of the world. The Cretans give to their country the status of heaven and claim to themselves the right of excellence in humanism.

Abbey de Lilee describes about an Indian whose eyes became wet with tears when he was plantains of his country in an exhibition at Paris. At that moment he felt as if he was in his own country. When a foreigner advised the original inhabitants of America to go and settle at some other place, they replied how were they to ask their old deads to follow them to some alien land....[6]describes that the negroes of Gold Coast in Africa are so fond of being laid to rest in their own country

that if some one dies at a distant place and his friends are not in a position to carry his whole body to his country, they, after amputating and cleansing with boiled water his one arm and one leg, carry these to his country where these are laid to rest with respect and honour.

The Javanese love their country so much that no bait is enough for this agriculturist nation to forsake the graves of their forefathers. The people of Norway are proud of bare heights of their mountains and inscribe the words on their coin (dollar) that the people of the world should learn from the tops of Norwegian mountains about bravery, courage and faithfulness—indeed all lessons worthy of respect.

In Selselei-Kohistan situated near Tiraz. although dry and treeless, the people love their land passionately. Once when a 'vakil' of Britain was surveying the heights of these mountains, a hilly herdsman very proudly asked him if his country too could boast of such scenes of sublime beauty. When Mirza Abul Hassan, a minister of Iran, was staying in England, he observed in the course of his talk to some Englishmen, "Of course we possess neither such excellent mirrors and things of comfort in our homes as are available here nor do we have in our country such vehicles and immense wealth. But in our country excellent fruits are available in abundance. In addition, we see the Sun almost everyday."

Patriotism is considered a characteristic of the French people. Time and distance do not in any way weaken this sentiment. The number of Arabs that live in Persia is so large that they outnumber all other people. They live on dates. In the beginning of nineteenth century an Arab lady whose family had settled in Persia long back went to England in the company of the children of the President of Persia. When she returned from there many men and women gathered around her to listen about the conditions in England. She was all priase for the streets, vehicles, horses and wealth of London. The listeners became envious of the prosperity of the people of England. Immersed in these thoughts they were preparing to leave for their homes when the Arab lady told them that in that country she missed one thing. Anxiously, the people asked her as to what that was. She replied in sorrow that it was date tree? As long as she was there she looked all around for it with her eyes wide open, but there was none to be seen.

Listening to this the Arabs changed their mind. Instead of envying them, they started pitying the lot of the foreigners and said that those foreigners were so luckless that they had to live in a country where there were no date trees. Similarly, the people of Greece, leaving aside their own country, regard the inhabitants of other countries as barbarians, be the civilized people of Egypt or the cultured ones from Persia. Even today the Chinese remember the inhabitants of America, France, Germany, England as barbarians. Moses[7] sent the remains of Joseph to his country, (Palestine), after 411 years. No community or person is wanting in patriotism. This sentiment is present in human mind. Listen! when two school teams compete with each other in a match, the senior and junior students of the winning school exclaim that they had won the match although they personally had not taken part in it.

These are all miracles of patriotism. This holy sentiment is also inherent in us. Our motherland is also dear to us. We were born here and will die here. That spirit is there in us, but it is not active yet. Those who say that we are devoid of that spirit are liars. Our position is that of a sleeping man. We are motionless, but we are not dead. The element of sensation is there in us. We feel pain and pleasure. In order to achieve our objective we will have to face hundreds of obstacles. We should not lose heart. Listen! a mother to save her child who is asleep in a house that is on fire leaps into the fire. In the same way we shall have to suffer all kinds of privations in order to reach our goal. Brothers, we are on the path of truth and no one dare oppose truth. You are all aware that everyone has to die. If that is so, why should we die a dishonourable death? Why should not we die in an honourable manner? Why should not we die for patriotism? You know that a dog is considered to be the lowest among all creatures. Its cause? It has no patriotic filings. It loves piece of bread. It stays at a place where its gets bread. In a like manner, thousands of people in our country love pieces of bread like a dog and fill their bellies by betraying the nation. Yet, they consider themselves as honourable. They should remember that honour comes by possessing some good qualities and not by filling the belley. Honour lies in draping oneself with certain qualities; it does not come by wearing beautiful dresses or riding fine vehicle. Tell me, can a dog become honourable by sitting

in a fine vehicle or by wearing beautiful clothes? No! No! For a patriot simple dress and simple food are enough. Of course, his conscience should be pure and clear. Look at the Czar's critical condition. This is because of his evil conscience. Although he is a ruler of the great empire of Russia, yet can any one pronounce him to be lucky. No! He is always afraid of his life. On the contrary, a naked saint with pure conscience is cheerful. One who is fearless moves all around cheerfully and dauntlessly. A murderer even in his dream shrieks with fear. One who does not do anything against one's conscience does not fear anything even at a dangerous place. Patriot Babu Bipin Chandra Pal is a man of such stature. He is bound by his conscience, and for its sake he accepted imprisonment, but he did not do anything against his conscience. He does not want mere congratulations from you. His joy lies in the fact that you follow his principles and make the country prosperous, infuse fresh life in its decadent physical frame and enhance the national prestige. Look! we rendered great service to the British in China and Transvaal, but all proved to be of no avail for humiliating treatment has been meted out to us there. The condition of the Asians is extremely bad. Today if even Christ were to go to Transvaal, he would not be allowed entry therefor his being an Asian. Brothers! consider as your own the honour and dishonour of your brothers. Do not take a step backward; but always move forward on the path of progress. Be men of strong will and resolve that no step would move backward; it will always forge ahead. We shall, of course, suffer injuries but our steps shall only move forward. Brothers, it is of no use to be moderate. Mr. Nevinson[8] is unhappy at your moderation. Make use of both moderation and extremism. Take a hard stand at proper time, take a determined stand when needed; be moderate when it is so required. Moderation is good, but extremism is also not bad. Many gains are secured by this (extremism). The British also use these two. At times they use moderation, and at other times they exercise brutal force. In a like manner, you should resort to force when you find moderation of no avail. Give up the old habit of following blindly. Be bold! We are not weaklings. We are victims of the habit of following blindly. Now is the period of enlightenment. It is not human to lead a dishonourable life. Life may be short buy should be honourable. To do this no money is needed; only courage is required. Do not be pressurised by others, obey your conscience. Follow the

example of Sikh Gurus, take inspiration from Mazzini[9] and Garibaldi.[10] Pal and Tilak[11] are patriots of the calibre. They do what their conscience tells them to do? They want to improve the condition of their country. Come forword! We all should lend our helping hand in this noble cause and spread their selfless, patriotic and pure thoughts in the four corners of the country. (Cheers)

5. RISE AND DECLINE OF NATIONS

(Lecture delivered by Sardar Ajit Singh at Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, on 11 July 1909)

Gentlemen and beloved countrymen! Pandit Shradhanand of Phillaur has written a poem, the last lines of which are:

"Where seven times twenty make a hundered,

It is advisable to be silent there."

It means that before the mighty, argument is of no avail. He can force people to agree that seven times twenty make a hundred. Now the British are powerful and it is true of them. Selfish people at once become 'yesmen' to the powerful. If it becomes known that the British feel flattered by listening that more times twenty make a hundred, our Indian brethren would repeat that a hundred thousand times twenty make a hundred.

As it is wellknown that seven times twenty can never be hundred nor is it ever possible. Similarly, the world accepts the view point of the strong largely out of fear, or at least it does not raise its voice against him. The people often give priority to their selfish ends over truth and justice. Therefore, Brindley,[12] the famous engineer, when asked as to why the rivers had been created, promptly replied that they were for laying the canals. Similarly when Thackeray[13] was asked as to what was the purpose of the life of queen Anne, he unhesitatingly replied that it was to provide him a theme for his favourite novel, *Esmond.*

If some one asks our so called benefactors, *i.e.* the British, as to why the Indians were born, their reply possibly would be that they were born to tolerate their (the British) rule and to furnish them goods for comforts and luxuries. Very often the white nations have claimed in journals and newspapers that coloured nations were there to tolerate

the rule of the whites for they were born to rule over them. It is the intoxication of power that makes them think so. But the people of Asia are in no circumstance ready to accept this view. Recent revolutions in China and Japan, Turkey and Persia, have dazzled the eyes of the Europeans, and their pride had to eat a humble pie. Nations that loved liberty and extirpated slavery are fettering the people into slavery by establishing their empires in far flung countries. Those who sing songs in praise of liberty in their country are enslaving other people in perpetuity. Why is all this happening? It is merely due to the influence of power. One who forms the habit of ruling over others, it is difficult for him to forsake this. There is the oft-repeated story of a Brahman whose son became a drunkard. He formed such a habit that day in and day out he was always drunk. The helpless Pandit advised him a lot, but the son did not listen to him. One day his father and mother went to him weeping and implored that they would do his asking provided he gave up drinking. The obedient boy accepted the advice of his parents on the condition that his father would also take wine for a period of four or five days and after that both of them would give it up. The moment the Pandit tasted it and felt intoxicated, he became convinced of its merits. On the fifth day the son said to his father, "Let us say good bye to this evil of drinking." But now the Pandit regarded wine better than nectar and found it difficult to give it up. He said, "Son, you may give it up. I cannot."

Everyone excited with power behaves in the manner of the Pandit. It is in this state of intoxication that Minto-Morley and Co. depicted themselves to be greater well wishers of India than even its own people. But can anyone in his senses accept this view?

"One hundred thousand Morleys and Mintos can hardly be equal to one Tilak or Aurbindo[14] in their love for the wellbeing of India." Can any person mention even one act in favour of India introduced either by Lord Minto when he was the Governor of Canada or by Morley when he was not the Secretary of State for India? We think they never imagined an awakened India. As a matter of fact, it is their primary duty that they should love England. Why should they be interested in formulating plans for the welfare and prosperity of India? Can any one among you say that he has benefitted England? No, a person who works only to get salary cannot do anything with

enthusiasm and devotion as is done by a patriot who is loved by all. Our so called benevolent rulers often claim that they can study well our conditions from afar because going by the dictum, "nearer the church father from God," the Indians cannot be aware of as to what was beneficial to them or what they really needed?

I feel it is a foolish idea. However, if it is accepted as correct then there can be an "understanding" between us and the British. The British should use telescopes from a distance and make laws for us, and we, sitting at the top of the Himalayas, enact laws for England!

The fact is that unless a country makes a study of history, it will not be in a position to determine as to what causes the rise and fall of nations. Therefore, now, shall briefly delineate as to how nations emerge and then suffer eclipse. It is possible that a statesman, while commenting on the future of a nation, may make a mistake. Lord Shelburne[15] made a mistake when he commented, during the course of Anglo-American war, that if America became free that would herald the end of the British Empire. But you all know that this proved to be incorrect. Not only Shelburne but other English statesmen such as Fox[16] and Lord George Germain[17] had similar views. But facts have proved them to be wrong. In a like manner, the famous English statesman, Burke,[18] while commenting on the French evolution, made a similar mistake. About America, Lecky[19] had written: "In a country where people of different nationalities and religions and coming from different countries reside, where the physical vastness of the country and inadequate means of transport and communication render close contact with one another almost impossible, and where making money dominates every other instinct, the sentiment of patriotism and identity of views are not possible." But America has become independent and Lecky's view has been falsified. Lecky had also said that many statesmen were of the opinion that even if America became independent it would disintegrate into a number of small, weak and mutually antagonistic states. It was also possible that bad characters and dacoits who were during the past few years increasingly active might overwhelm the country and thus ruin the state. A similar view is often expressed by the entire Anglo-Indian Press and some of our own countrymen in regard to India. They are of the opinion that if India were to be made free, then several nationalities living here would fly

at one another's throat. In place of bread, its people would start eating each other. Widespread unrest and anarchy would prevail. How far this view is valid, history is a pointer.

It is the belief of the Hindus that this world—nay the entire universe—has been created, destroyed and re-created time over again and this process would continue. It is also universally held that day will be followed by night and night by day. People may not live for ever to watch this cycle of day and night, but empires, nations and families rise and decline; nothing is permanent.

It is God's decree that He does not allow anything to remain static in the same position for ever. By studying history it becomes known that God creates and destroys nations almost in a similar manner. The elements that inspired France were largely found in America too. The features that inspired...[20] are present in Iran. In future also only those nations would rise where these elements will be present. Events, accidents and difficulties that confront a nation are faced in one form or the other by all. When God wishes the rise of any nation an unknown force begins to work slowly and silently. People begin to aspire for their liberty. Thereafter the desire for the liberty of their brethren is born in them. Thus gradually this desire for the liberty of their brethren is transformed into an ardent wish for freedom of their nation.

This desire for freedom gets impetus from the excesses of a despotic or a cruel ruler and sometimes by the mischievous acts of the ruling nation. At times the display of feeling of excessive superiority on the part of the ruling nation fills the mind of the ruled with the thought of freedom. Quite often a poem or an act of a hero kindles the spark of freedom in a nation. Sometimes work for religious, moral and class reform prepares the ground for the attainment of final emancipation. The proof of all this is to be found in the awakenings in Japan, Iran, Turkey and Egypt.

When the will of God slowly enters the mind of the people. He gives birth to one or more persons all of whom devote themselves whole-heartedly to this work. Animals do not think of their progress of improvement, and for that oxen and dogs do not change and there is scarcely any change in their way of life. But man is a progressive

being. It is for this reason that those nations which were barbaric and uncivilized some two or four centuries ago have progressed beyond expectations, and no one knows to what extent their progress would continue and where would they stop. However, no nation has ever arisen with the prop of others. Therefore, dependence on others is harmful. Help and strength are born from within and not from without. The strength of a country always helps it in its revival. However, such a thing is hard to obtain in a slave country, for the power to levy taxes and enact laws is in the hands of aliens. The people living in Flanders[21] had excellent trade and agriculture, but the interference of foreigners flung them apart and they could not attain the status of a nation. They became idlers. This happened because they did not possess the physical strength to defend themselves from the interference of outsiders.

Two things are very essential for man—food and comfortable sleep. One who has these is bound to rise one day. But one who has uncertainty about income and a disturbed mind cannot achieve anything. What can one do or think if he is not free from the burden of earning his bread! Thus, it is the duty and responsibility of every person to have full strength in order to defend his as well as that of the nation's honour and glory. None can deviate a nation from the path of progress if its people do their duty properly and devotedly.

But concerted efforts are needed for all these. However, co-ordinated efforts are only possible when we forsake mutual hatred and jealousy and feeling of unnatural superiority over others, whenever any nation succeded in obliterating mutual differences and jealousies, its advance could not be resisted. But a nation which had these evils certainly suffered decline and humiliation.

Whenever, we imagine any of our countrymen as low and inferior to ourselves, he would certainly begin nursing enmity is his heart against us, however friendly or our well wisher he might have been earlier. In fact, caste feeling and differences have brought havoc on our country—nay these have always ruined nations. Despite the fact that all are born equal and they are equal in birth and death, in origin and end of life, this feeling of high and low has entered the nature of man. A study of caste-system and untouchability among the Hindus has revealed that these have not been sanctioned by religion but subsist by sheer habit and custom, not even remotely based on

morality or culture. Possibly the Aryans divided themselves among various professions for the smooth administration of the country, and untouchability became the outcome of love of wealth and comforts.

So far it is not bad. Rather, it is necessary that one man should adopt only one profession and be not deprived of all by trying hands on all. However, it would be stupid that people of one religion professing different professions should be thrown out of the brotherhood. In fact, everyone can take advantage of these varied professions.

All the communities of India calling themselves Hindu are bound by the same tenets and holy books that all-Hindus universally identify with their religion, and no Hindu has ever thrown out any Hindu of other caste from the fold of Hinduism. Still, there is such an actue enmity among themselves that knows no limits, and this has harmed all the communities of India to such an extent that it seems they do not now belong to one religion or caste. Everyone feels himself exclusive and proud. In Egypt also, like our country, there were distinctions of caste. As such Baron Bason has written in his books; "caste *i.e.* hereditary professions of which the lowest (were) kept in a state of submission to those of the priest (and the warrior)." It means that people of hereditary professions were kept under perpetual submission of the priests and the warriors. The result of this custom was that divisions always existed in the country. Those who called themselves of high caste behaved arrogantly and unsympathetically towards the people of lower castes who in turn nursed hatred for the upper caste people, and they always thought of ending this servitude. Some seven centuries before Christ the King of Egypt, Psammetichus,[22] permitted the Greeks to trade with his country just as the Muslim rulers allowed the Europeans to trade with India. As the Muslim kings created elements of opposition by their policy of religious persecution, the Egyptians also converted people of lower order into their enemies by following a policy of caste and religious distinctions. The result of the advent of the Greeks in Egypt was that in a short span of time two lakh and forty thousand people belonging to various castes emigrated to Ethiopia and settled there. When the Greeks secured such a large body of Egyptian soldiers, then in 125 B.C. the Greek king, Cambyses, attacked and defeated the King of Egypt, Amosis.[23] After that up to

327 B.C. Egypt remained under the rule of the Persians. Since the Egyptians became used to foreign rule for a long time, consequently Philip, the father of Alexander, established his rule there by turning out the Persians. The Egyptians found no difficulty in reconciling themselves to the new foreign rule for by now it had become their habit to suffer alien domination, and furthermore the Persians had burdened the Egyptians with heavy taxes and humiliated them in every possible way. After the Greek rule, Ptolemies[24] occupied Egypt and continued to rule there till 30 B.C. In reality, the Egyptians had forgotten their nationalhood and the foreign rulers had done everything to suppress this feeling. The Ptolemies were, however cultured. One of their kings named Lagos[25] built a library at Alexandria where there were seven lakh books and which was later burnt by the Khalifa According to Professor Muhammad Shibli this library was burnt by the Christians. Egypt remained under the rule of the Romans for seven centuries. Later it was under the kings of Persia and Greece and again it was occupied by Rome. And finally at the beginning of *Hijri* era the Egyptian nation was completely annihilated by the Arabs when they killed all the males, and every soldier of the twenty thousand force of the Khalifa appropriated twenty Egyptian women. Briefly, Egypt suffered because of the abuses of caste system, and a country which was once the crown nation of the world was reduced to the position of permanent servitude.

Now listen to the story of another renowned nation and see the result mutual disunity. The Greeks also believed in many gods and goddesses and there were various religious groups. They were also divided into many states. Like the two wellknown Rajput Kingdoms of India—Delhi and Kanauj[26]—there were two rival states, Athens and Sparta. Between them existed, like Jai Chand and Prithvi Raj, mutual enmity and jealousy. Also in these two states of Greece, like the two Rajput Kingdoms of India, there was very little difference in religion, but it influenced them in a powerful manner. Consequently Philip, the father of Alexander,[27] conquered Sparta. The people tired of the excesses of Philip, as was inevitable in case of a foreign rule, formed Achaean Confederacy and sought the help of the Romans for their liberation. The Romans did come to their help but in the process subjugated their country, for why should one leave the weak unmolested when he could defeat a powerful enemy? Even now the people of Sparta are renowned for their valour. But where have they

gone now? They were destroyed by mutual enmity, communalism and caste distinctions. Like the *kshatriyas* of our country they were religiously devoted to the profession of arms, and they loved to embrace death in the battlefield. Weak children were not at all considered useful for the state and as such the Spartans used to throw them down the hills. The Greeks regarded each other low and the states were involved in constant internecine warfare. In such a situation Philip in 197 B.C. enslaved all of them. About this a poet has said:

It is sad to tell, long to trace
Each step from splendour to disgrace.
Enough, no foreign face could quell
It is spirit till from itself it fell.
Yes, self-abasement paved the way
To alien and despotic sway.

It means that it is very sorrowful to tell the decline of Greece from a position of exalted eminence to utter disgrace. No foreign power could overpower it. Surely it fell a prey to its own weaknesses and thus lost its independence. Ancient Greece is now only mentioned in books. The people as in ancient Greece have disappeared. Only in the recent past the Greeks have won their independence from the Turks. All this was the result of mutual differences and jealousies that an exalted nation was reduced to slavery. Now listen to the story of a third ancient nation, the Persians, about whom a reference has been made earlier. In the past the Persian empire extended up to Greece and Egypt. The Persian king, Xerxes, had such a large army that its last column could be seen even after 27 days of its continuous marching.[28] The father of Alexander, Philip, was a vassal of Persia. But later on when Persia was torn by internal dissensions and the rulers began to ill-treat the people, it was conquered by Alexander in 327 B.C. Greek viceroys continued to rule over Persia up to 229 B.C. Later the Greeks had to go home for fighting against the Romans, and Persia was governed by kings such as Bahram Gur,[29] Khusrau Anushirwan,[30] etc. After the death of Anushirwan which occurred in 628 A.D. Persia once again witnessed internal disunity and anarchy. Cyrus[31] was killed. Ardashir[32] was killed by Shahrbaraz[33] and the latter was put to death by the people. In 633. A.D. Yazdegird[34] ascended the throne, and finally the Muslims conquered this ease-loving nation which was torn

by internal dissensions. The Persians were vanquished in just two battles, and the Zorastrians who are in India fled from Persia and took refuge with the king of Anhilwara[35] who granted them protection on the condition that they would not indulge in cow-slaughter. Thus internal dissensions also destroyed this nation. Now listen to the fact of another renowned nation of the world, *i.e.* the Romans about whom we have talked about earlier. Although there were not any appreciable religious differences, but the Romans, intoxicated by wealth and power, had created barriers between the people. They did not regard even all the people of Italy as human beings. Only the citizens of Rome were considered as free men. Their love of luxuries and enjoyment knew no limits. Their entire work was done by the slaves, and they themselves were indulging in amusement day in and day out. Although in our country too all Englishmen, right from an ordinary person to the viceroy; indulge in merry-making and move to the hills during summer for Indians are available for doing all work. yet up to this time there has not occurred in them love for ease and luxuries like that of the Romans. When the Romans became ease-loving they needed money and for this they began to take bribes. It is pre-requisite of corruption that man should commit cruelties, and thus cruelties were perpetrated extensively. Barring themselves, the Romans did not regard others even as human beings. Consequently discontent continued simmering and the Romans continued suppressing it by their atrocities and force.

The ease-laving nation had to face a hardy people. In the beginning of the fifth century A.C. Theodoric, the leader of the Goths,[36] attacked and the Romans given to a life of luxury and amusement could not withstand him. The people were already ill-disposed and the empire split up in a number of principalities. Out of compulsion the Romans had to call for the troops from distant provinces but to no purpose. The civilized people had to submit before the barbarians. You would recall that at that time Britain was also ruled by the Romans and as such, whatever troops were available they were called forth. Since the Romans were defeated in their homeland and their empire came to an end, they did not go to Britain to take charge of that country.

Thus the Roman empire too suffered decline on account of the same reason: it discriminated between people and did not care for the

resentment of their own men and subjects. Although there were no castes in the religious sense but classes on political and social basis had come into being which proved to be their bane.

Now we narrate to you the story of the decline of the British nation which is ruling over us these days.

In 50 A.D. the Romans occupied the island of Britain. Just as the Europeans hearing about its wealth came to India, similarly English slaves, both males and females, used to come to Italy to offer themselves for sale. The Romans were very fond of them, and they succeeded in discovering Britain. Consequently for four hundred and ten years the Romans ruled over Britain. Tacitus,[37] in the biography of Roman governor, Agricola,[38] had given a detailed account of the conditions there. Agricola was the Roman Governor in Britain. A study of his biography will show that the conditions in Britain under the Romans were exactly similar to the conditions in India under the British. There were separate laws for the Romans and the British; the latter had no share in Government nor were they given any post of responsibility. And the mutual relations between the British and the Romans were no better. The British, therefore revolted against the authority of the Romans just as the Indian had risen against the English in 1857. Like the Indians, the British (in their struggle against the Romans) were without arms.

When the Romans came back from Britain to fight against the Goths, the British had been by that time reduced to utter impotence. They did not know the use of weapons. In such a situation of misery and helplessness they were overwhelmed by the Picts and Scots from sea and land. The Britons could not resist the invaders. Humiliated and helpless, the British sent an appeal to the Romans bearing the title, "The Groans of the Britons." They prayed to save them and said, "The sea drives us to the land and the land drives us back to the Sea."[39] The Romans replied that they could not come to their rescue when they themselves were in the thick of troubles.

We remember that a few years ago an Anglo-Indian had expressed the view that if the Englishmen were to leave India, the Indians would send a telegram to the English urging their return before they could reach even Aden. Possibly he remembers the history of his country, and feels that the Indians as a matter of policy having been

disarmed had been reduced to a position that in case of an attack either by Kabul or Japan they would certainly appeal for British help. Like the Scots,[40] the Afghans are in our north and Japan is situated towards the sea, and that Anglo-Indian imagined that in that eventuality the Hindus and Muslims would cut each others' throat. Whatever, may be his position, we believe that in the event of a war between England and Germany or with any other European country, our English "benefactors" would leave us for their homes, or at least they would leave some arms for our defence, or they would repond to our appeal for help and to protect us from the Afghans and the Japanese they would compel us to request Russia or Turkey for help just as the departure of the Romans compelled the Britons to seek help from the Saxons who eventually became master of England. The Saxons, like the Muslims in India, put all the Britons to death and appropriated their women-folk. The British people who are today known as Anglo-Saxons are the offsprings of British females and Saxon males. Perahaps there is no pure Briton now.

We hope that our so called benefactors would not abandon us helpless at the mercy of barbarians, and we pray that they should prepare us in case such an eventuality took place.

Now we shall describe something about India.

India too is in the grip of the evils of caste-system and untouchability. Here there are places where the people not only keep themselves away from certain castes whom we unjustly characterise as low, but also from the men of their own caste. One brother avoids the other and one does not partake the food touched by the other. Both Prithvi Raj and Jai Chand were Rajputs, and the only difference was that one of them was a Chauhan and the other was a Rathor. But they were sworn enemies of each other. Jai Chand was responsible for Shahb-ud-din's [41] attack on Prithvi Raj. Later he himself perished. One Englishman has written that since the days of Prithvi Raj the Hindus have neither learnt nor forgotten anything for (Jaswant) Rai Holkar and his brother have acted in the manner of Prithvi Raj and Jai Chand. When the war with the British was on one of them remained passive and watched the other being vanquished. When the second war broke out the first-one remained inactive and in this way both of them were ruined. Otherwise, Holkar received *Chauth*[42] from the Hindustan.

When Porus was fighting against Alexander in the Punjab, the members of his family felt happy at his defeat. At last all were destroyed.

Caste-system can never be harmful provided professions are not on the basis of religious distinctions and the country has its own government. The Christians also adopt various professions; they have social differences. The feeling of high and low is ingrained in human nature, but it is quite unnatural that we, without any reason, should regard other persons as low and impure even though they might be of more pious disposition and holier than us. Is it not irrational that we avoid touching them and sitting near them and take pride when our actions are immoral and iniquitous?

I say these things not from the viewpoint of religion. Only those will have such a view who are associated with religion. I am saying in terms of sheer political point of view. The caste-system is pernicious and this silly idea has blighted our country and, whatever remains will also crumble. What is the fault of a *bhangi*[43] or a *chamar*[44] that we look down upon him as low? His only fault is that he is poor. If that is so then why do you blame the British? They are at present the ruling nation. Why should you complain if they consider you low or humiliate you, or they do not allow you to sit by their side in the train or they discriminate in favour of their own countrymen in legal cases? You should not grumble about this. Tell me honestly how you all feel about it. When you yourself do not dispense justice to others, how do you expect justice from the foreigners?

I feel that Lala Lajpat Rai did not devote himself to the upliftment of the poor and down-trodden merely on account of religious consideration, but, after considerable study, he had discovered the real cause of the rise and fall of nations.

A *chamar* whom we do not allow to sit by our side becomes a Muslim and taking the name of Sheikh Din Muhammad sits beside us. Similarly a *bhangi* whose mere touch compels us to take bath for purification comes to us as 'padre sahib' after becoming a Christian. We are not tired of calling him a 'sahib' and give him all honour and respect. Do we thus not encourage these people to embrace Islam or Christianity?

Remember, high castes are less in number. If you doubt this then peruse the census reports. You count yourselves as 24 crores only by adding these low-castes. When you do not touch them, what right have you to take advantage of their numbers?

If they all convert themselves into Christians or Muslims, your number would then be considerably reduced, and also remember that we shall have to make our own shoes and clean our latrines: You will feel sorry at that time. Without doubt, our ancestors had introduced untouchability on some scientific basis. They know that unclean thoughts and bodies tend to spread like a contagious disease. But how would one get the disease of the other if the two are suffering from the same disease. How is a *chamar* more unclean than you? If is possible that the poor man commits less impious physical and spiritual acts. Which Hindu does not drink ice-water or soda-water from the hands of a Muslim or does not take sugar purified with the bones of cow or does not use foreign medicines, or does not drink water from taps whose pipe passes through drains and sewage? A *bhangi* washes his hands after cleaning the latrine, but the water pipe always remains immersed in urine and human excrement. Don't you drink water from a tumbler after using it in the latrine? You do it every day. However, if a *bhangi* or a *chamar* happens to touch it you will seethe with indignation. You are prepared to shake hands with the Englishmen and also partake their left-over tea who do not in any way loathe the *bhangis* and *chamars*. But you hate your own countrymen. Are we not doing gross injustice by detesting these people who call themselves Hindus, are like us in physical appearance, are sons of the same soil about which we feel proud, share our sorrows and joy and who render us great service almost for a pittance?

I am not suggesting that we enter into matrimony with these people because even those Hindu castes who partake food with each other do not do so. *Sonar*,[45] and *Lohar*,[46] *Bania* and *Brahmin*, *Kshatriya* and *Jat*, so much so that even the subdivisions of a caste, do not inter-marry. But as we do not shun them and do not regard them as low they, therefore do not nurse any hostility against us.

Had we not committed this mistake of looking down upon and illtreating our own brethren, who in this world could have overwhelmed us? We would have been equal in matters of religion

and spirit, and even social distinctions would have caused less harm. And possibly this craze for acquiring higher status for oneself and down-grading the others would not have been there.

I have already told you that caste-system and feeling of high and low have destroyed nations. Now I shall explain to you how those nations progressed where such feeling did not exist.

Rome made progress when its inhabitants attached importance to service and likewise qualities and did not care for caste-system and wealth. I read out to you an extract from the book, Muhabban-i-Watan:

Look: he tilled land. There were many persons of wealth and ancient lineage in the country. But they did not possess the abilities that he had. The far-seeing Romans took advantage of his sentiments and succeeded in establishing a powerful empire, which was later destroyed by easeloving, corrupt and tyrannical persons. In Japan, too, like India, there were internal divisions and groups and numerous small and mutually-warring states. Seeing such conditions America invaded Japan in about 1855[47] A.D. The British who are today friendly to Japan had also attacked it. But God gave the Japanese good sense, and unitedly they attacked the enemy and defeated them. The East India Company had planned a second invasion on Japan but, by chance, mutiny occurred in India and this design came to naught. God gave the Japanese wisdom and all the small states surrendering their kingdoms and rights to a person agreed to obey his commands. He was named Mikado.[48] This is the greatest sacrifice in the world. Our princes rejoice at the discomfiture of one another; our humbler brethren also rejoice to bring disaster on others, and at last all are ruined and none remains safe. Look! how God helped them God always helps those who help themselves. Why should God help him who wishes to drown himself?

Look at America. Thirteen nationalities distinct from one another in religion, language and in every other respect live there. The English, the French, the Dutch, Russians, Turks, Arabs, Germans, Italians, etc., and people of different religions—Protestants, Roman Catholics, Theosophists—all live there and no one regards the other as his inferior. They are all free and equal in human rights and as such they are enjoying heaven in the world. The French also suffered under their despotic rulers and their religious differences were not less acute than

those of the Hindus and the Muslims. During one night on the occasion of the festival of St. Bartholomew[49] hundreds of people were massacred. But do they fight among themselves now? For this reason they are the premier nation of the world today.

Look at Italy. So long its people continued fighting, among themselves and contested each other merits, God kept them at low level. Austria dominated over them. When they started helping themselves and perceived God's will they became independent. Mazzini was no superman. Nor was Garibaldi a god. However, he was an ardent supporter of unity and away from selfishness. God helped him. The Italians met with failures but their strong determination helped them. Impressed by their courage and fortitude 'the king of all the world'[50] joined them. His son Victor Emmanuel[51] too stood by them and finally in 1860, with God's grace, all the states were unified. God helps those who help themselves!

There was great disunity in India during the time of Aurangzeb. On account of ignorance about (the truth of) various religions there was considerable confusion and fighting. Shivaji in the Deccan, inspired by the teachings of Guru Ram Dass,[52] worked to bring about unity among various communities. He and his successors achieved this objective in a substantial measure. In Punjab Guru Gobind Singh Ji Maharaj[53] did a great work. See, how he broke the fetters of caste-system. The five *piaras* belonged to five different castes. Those whom you would regard as low were with him, and he viewed them as his Guru. This he did to remove the sentiment of high and low. It is on account of the blessings and work of these five persons that Ranjit Singh could become the ruler of the Punjab. If the Guru Maharaj had not carried these castes with him whom you erroneously call as low, and treated them with equality, he could not have secured speedy success. I do not wish to take any more of your time, I have told you briefly about the rise and decline of nations. Details you can findout from the books which are available in all libraries. I can also suggest their titles. When you reflect about this, you will discover that discord generated by the feeling of high and low and religious differences had been the foot cause of all decline. Unity fostered by sympathetic and equal treatment of low people is at the root of all progress. Brothers, I appeal to you to love these down-trodden communities. Do not

despise them; associate them with yourselves. Time has come for preparing the field and sowing of seeds. If like a foolish farmer you delay the sowing of seeds after the preparation of the land, then, in the meantime, wild grass would sprout out in the field because of rain. Time for sowing would pass away and the seeds would not sprout up, and consequently greater labour would have to be put in afresh for the preparation of fields. For information about gold and silver consult a *sonar,* a *lohar* would not tell you anything; about vegetables enquire from an *arain,*[54] a butcher would know nothing; about arms take the advice of a soldier, a *bania* would be ignorant; about land seek the opinion of a zamindar, a *vakil* would not know anything; about the suffering consult the afflicted, a heal they person would not be of any help; about the poor, only the poor would tell, these drinkers of ice-water and soda-water and eaters of delicious food know nothing. I shall urge that, whatever land you find ready, sow the seed, and continue preparing the remaining field further. Devote yourself to the service of the down-trodden; shun hating them. Take moral courage, forsake cowardice. Young-men! this is your work. Do not expect much from the old people. Consider this as your religion.

God is one. India is your country and every Indian is your brother. You are a Sikh afterwards, an Indian first; you are a Muslim afterwards, an Indian first; you are a Hindu afterwards, an Indian first; you are a Christian afterwards, an Indian first.

The words "My country" should always be on your tongue, and at the time of death you should say, "My country," "My country," "My country," just as Prophet Mohammad died uttering. "My people," "My people". I hope, whatever I have said will not go waste.

Some people argue, "What can we do? We are married. Should we care for our children or serve the country?" But this thinking is erroneous. Are not Tilak Maharaj and Aurbindo married? Could they not lead a life of comforts? They could. They were placed in circumstances that they could lead lives of comfort and luxury. But they did not. They turned their backs upon wordly comforts and luxuries for the service of the country and nation. Leading a Simple life, they have undergone the privations of jail life and banishment for your sake. You should also emulate their noble example. Take a vow to serve the country. When you go home you often say that you have

brought something for your daughter or some toys for the son, but have you ever spent even two pice for the sake of the country or done anything for the benefit of the country? It is so sad that you do not care a bit for your country. In the end I appeal to the students (because during summer vacations they go to their homes) that they should educate people about *swadeshi* in their villages. Popularise indigenous articles. Ask the people not to go to courts. Suggest the ways of establishing *Panchayats.*[55] Others should also use indigenous articles, and every moment they should keep the welfare of the country and nation in mind. They should not fear any worldly power while discharging their duty towards the country. Trust in God who is the fulfiller of our desires (cheers).

REFERENCES

1. Prosecution was launched against the *Punjabee* of Lahore for spreading racial hatred between the British and the Indians. The proprietor, Lala Jaswant Rai, was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and the editor, K.K. Athavale, was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. The Sessions Court regarded the sentence on the proprietor as "too severe" and reduced it to six months' rigorous imprisonment. On 16 April, 1907 the Chief Court of the Punjab upheld the conviction and sentence but altered it to simple imprisonment. P. Singh. *Lord Minto and Indian Nationalism* (Allahabad, 1976) p. 38.
2. Robert Clive; b. 1725; one of the founders of British rule in India: Governor of Bengal, 1757-60 and 1765-67; d. 1774.
3. The earthen pot in a *hookah* which contains tobacco and charcoal balls.
4. A water tobacco-pipe; a hubble bubble.
5. Bipin Chandra Pal; b. 1858; journalist and nationalist leader; advocated passive resistance, national education and boycott of English goods; he was imprisoned in 1907 by the British for six months; d. 1932.
6. It has not been possible to decipher the name of the writer in the Urdu text.
7. Moses (c. 14th-13th century B.C.) Hebrew prophet, teacher and leader who delivered his people from Egyptian slavery and founded the religious community known as Israel.
8. H.W. Nevinson; b. 1856; British journalist, essayist and biographer; the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*,the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily News*, etc; visited India in 1907 and supported Congress demands and the anti-partition agitation; author of *New Spirit in India;* d. 1941.

9. Mazzini; b. 1805; Italian patriot and revolutionary agitator; worked for the liberation of Italy and its union under a republican government; d. 1872.

10. Giuseppe Garibaldi; b. 1807; Italian patriot and general; took notable part in the unification of Italy; d. 1882.

11. Bal Gangadhar Tilak; b. 1856; extremist leader; in 1897 he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for sedition; sentenced to transportation for six years, 1908-14; d. 1920.

12. James Brindley; b. 1716; pioneer canal builder who was one of the outstanding innovators of the industrial revolution; d. 1772.

13. William Makepeace Thackeray; b. 1811; English novelist; author of *vanity Fair, The Newcomes, Esmond;* d. 1863.

14. Aurbindo Ghose; b. 1872; founder of *Yugantar,* organiser of the Nationalist Party; retired to Pondicherry in 1910; d. 1950.

15. Lord Shelburne; b. 1737; statesman; secretary of state, 1766-68, in the Chatham-Grafton ministry but resigned because of opposition to his advocacy of conciliation to the American colonists; Prime Minister, 1782-83; he completed the negotiations of the treaty of Versailles which concluded the American Revolution, but was then defeated by Charles James Fox and Lord North and never held office again; d. 1805.

16. Charles James Fox; b. 1749; Member of British Parliament from 1768 and champion of liberal causes; an opponent of the policies towards the American Colonies of George III and Lord North; later principal opponent of William Pitt the Younger; d. 1806.

17. Lord George Sackville Germain; b. 1716 politician and soldier; an M.P., 1741-82, he rose in the army to become a general; d. 1785.

18. Edmund Burke; b. 1729; English philosopher, politician and orator; author of *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790); d. 1779.

19. W.E.H. Lecky; b. 1838; historian and M.P. from Dublin University from 1895 to 1902; author or *History of England in the Eighteenth Century;* d. 1903.

20. The name of the country is missing in the Urdu text.

21. Flanders in France famous for the manufacture of woollens in 13th, 14th. centuries A.D.

22. Psammetichus I, 664-610 B.C.

23. Obviously this is wrong history. Cambyses was not a Greek but a Persian king who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. and not 125 B.C. He defeated Psammetichus III and not Amosis (569-526 B.C.). Amosis died in 526 B.C., thereby he just escaped the defeat.

24. Soon after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. the dissolution of the Greek empire took place. One of his generals Ptolemy Lagos became the king of Egypt in 305 B.C. He took the additional name of Soter ("Saviour"). In 30 B.C. Ptolemic dynasty ended and Egypt became a Roman province.
25. The Ptolemies were enthusiastic patrons of learning and one of their finest memorials was the great library of Alexandria founded by Ptolemy Lagos.
26. Delhi and Kanauj, the two Rajput states in 12th, century A.D., were ruled by Prithvi Raj and Jai Chand respectively.
27. It was not Philip, the father of Alexander, but Philip V (221-179 B.C.) of Macedonia who conquered Sparta. Alexander's father was able to make all the Greek states, except Sparta, acknowledge his supremacy.
28. Herodotus mentions that the army of Xerxes (reigned 486-65 B.C.) consisted of 5,000,000 men. He invaded Greece, overcame their resistance at Thermopylae, 480 B.C., but was defeated at Salamis. Two bridges were constructed across Hellespont (Dardanelles). According to Herodotus it took the Persian army seven days and seven nights of continuous marching to cross these bridges.
29. Bahram Gur, ruler of Sasanian dynasty in Persia (420-38 A.D.); surnamed Gur, ("the onager") on account of his vigour.
30. Khusrau I Anushirwan, king of Sasanian dynasty in Persia. 530-79 A.D.; the king killed in 628 A.D. was not Anushirwan, he was Khusrau II Parvez, 590-628 A.D.
31. There was no king of Sasanian dynasty by the name of Cyrus.
32. Ardashir III, king of Sasanian dynasty in Persia, 629-630 A.D.
33. Shahrbaraz, the ruler of Persia, April 630 to June 630 A.D.
34. Yazdegird III, 633-651 A.D.
35. Rajput Kingdom in Gujarat with capital at Anhilwara.
36. Goths; a Germanic tribe who invaded Roman empire in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.
37. Tacitus; 55-117 A.D. Roman historian; he was the son-in-law of Agricola; author of *Annals* and *Historiae*.
38. Julius Agricola; 39-93 A.D.; Governor of Roman Britain; recalled to Rome in 87 A.D. by Domitain who was jealous of Agricola's success.
39. Obviously an incorrect passage. The Britons said, "the barbarians drive us to the sea and the sea drives us back to the barbarians."
40. The Scots came from Ireland and the Picts from the north.
41. Shabh-ud-din Muhammad of Ghor defeated Prithvi Raj in 1192 A.D.

42. Literally one-fourth. The fourth part of the revenue claimed by Marathas when they overran but did not annex a district.

43. Sweeper and scavenger.

44. Tanner and leather-worker.

45. Goldsmith.

46. Blacksmith.

47. Refers to the naval attack of Commodore Perry in 1853-54 forcing upon Japan a treaty providing for opening of Japanese ports.

48. During 1637-1854 the Tokugawa Shoguns, the heads of powerful military clans, dominated Japanese history and the Emperors (the Mikados) receded into the background. The trade treaties with U.S.A. Russia, England and Holland and the opening of the Japanese ports caused heart-burning among various nobles. Slowly the anti-foreign sentiment led to the movement whose aim was, "Restore the Emperor". Finally in 1868 the Emperor assumed direct rule over the country.

49. Massacre of St. Bartholomew; the massacre of Huguenots throughout France ordered by Charles IX at the instigation of his mother Catherine de Medicis, and begun on the morning of the festival. 24 August 1572.

50. Charles Albert; (1798-1849) King of Sardinia-Piedmont. He came to the help of the Italians fighting against Austria, but was defeated in the battle of Novara, 23, March, 1849. Later he abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

51. Victor Emmanuel II; 1820-1878; King of Sardinia-Piedmont from 1849 and of Italy from 1861 until his death.

52. Ram Dass; 1608-81; a saint of Maharashtra; Shivaji was inspired by his teachings; Ram Dass pointed out to his royal pupil: "God and Cows, Brahmans and the Faith, these are to be protected; therefore God has raised you up."

53. Guru Gobind Singh; b. 1675; the tenth and the last Sikh Guru; created the 'Khalsa' in 1699; d. 1708.

54. *Arains* are skilful and industrious vegetable growers.

55. Panchayat; literally a council of five persons; term applied to the traditional village council of rural India.

10

Painful History of India

1. SPEECH AT LAHORE, 17 MARCH, 1907

"My subject is *'Hindustan ki purdard dastan'* (The painful history of India). I will give you the details from the beginning to the end of trouble and tyranny to which we are subjected by the British Government.

At first government was in the hands of the East India Company. It was trading company. It began to stop the trade of India. Formerly nothing was supplied from England, but the Company began to think of importing English merchandise to India. The charges and taxes were imposed on articles exported. The country was destroyed by famines. At length the government passed into the hands of the Queen, who declared that there should be no difference between white and black. Events that followed have proved the contrary. There was a native ship named 'Asia.' The English refused to use and it was destroyed. Government began to devise means to kill industries, arts and agriculture, and to reduce the pecuniary conditions of the country. Charges were heavily imposed on all exports.

The distressed people rebelled in 1857. After this hopes were held out, but they were never fulfilled. Indians were compelled to cultivate the indigo, and to this end were beaten and murdered. The miseries of the people increased, and in 1877, 50 lakhs of people died of hunger. Questions were asked in Parliament, but no attention was paid.

In Hyderabad State, an European brought out a printing press from England as a sample. He was hated by Europeans and regarded as a traitor. The government is so tyrannical that when the people began to publish their grievances in the press, the Sedition Laws and

Press Act were passed in order to stop them. In the face of such misery we must rebel. Shame upon the government that has deprived us of arms and had imprisoned our beloved Jaswant Rai and Athavale. How black hearted are the people of England to oppress us! They paid no heed to us when we cried out over the partition of Bengal. Mr. Morley replied that the thing was done.

Mr. H. Robert recommended that the law of sedition and the separation of executive and judicial powers of Deputy Commissioners should be considered, but with no result. The Deputy Commissioner, who is an officer of police, himself orders the prosecution and then hears the case. What tyranny it is that when a Deputy Commissioner hears the cases, while on tour, he gets big supplies—eggs and chickens—free, while the poor people die of hunger.

Lord Ripon[1] decided that Europeans accused of an offence could be tried by native Magistrates. The editor of The *Civil and Military Gazette* remarked about this, that he had European blood in him, so he and other Englishmen would see to this matter. The order was never passed. The English even considered that a European accused of an offence should not be brought up before a native judge. The Queen proclaimed that Europeans and natives would get justice alike—but read Section 4 of the Indian Penal Code.

In connection with the visit of the Amir of Kabul to India, our Emperor Edward VII[2] said that he was pleased at the Amir's visit of India and hoped that natives would always be treated with leniency. At the same time he does not wish to interfere with executive powers of local officers.

Thus we have nothing to hope for from our king. We are now ready to oppose the English; we should never trust them. We held good posts in the time of the Moghul Empire. Now the English are oppressing us. In a Swadeshi meeting held at Allahabad, havildar became excited and said that we should not use English things. When the poor man returned to his barracks and the story was told to his officers he was suspended and ordered to be court-martialled. If you all agree we will show sympathy for the havildar, and if he is dismissed, we will employ him at the same rate of pay (cries of yes).

The days of the 21st and 28th February were days of great calamity for the Punjab, when the new laws were passed. No heed

was paid to the 12,000 and 20,000 persons who assembled at Lyallpur and Gojra. There is no hope of any good from such a government. The time has now come for us to fight and be free. Natal has not its own rulers, and the Transvaal their rights. The army in the Transvaal is paid for by the English, but the army in India is paid for by India.

There are two classes of workers in India—the moderates, and those who are opposed to them, the extremists. We are extremists and not moderates for there is no use in giving petitions.

Sometime ago a Russian came to India, and we told him that we were being oppressed by the English. He asked how this could be when the English number only one and a half lakhs, while the Indians are 30 crores. Thirty crores, he said, could not be oppressed by one and a half lakhs. If they were, then Indians could not be men. My brothers, you should become men. We must give up government service, and work for ourselves. If we fail, we shall see whether the English can bring men from London. We should openly fight with the English and must not fear detectives or the police:

2. SPEECH AT AMRITSAR, 29 MARCH 1907

Ajit Singh visited Amritsar on the 29th March and delivered a lecture at the Bande Mataram Hall to about one thousand persons on the political situation in India. The audience was of all creeds, but Hindus predominated.

Ajit Singh in beginning his address pointed out that India in former days was a most prosperous country, thanks to her indigenous industries. These he asserted had been killed one by one by the English Government in order to foster British trade. Commencing with the days of the East India Company he traced the decline of prosperity in India, and endeavoured to show how the misfortunes of Indians had gradually increased with recurring famines, increased taxation and repressive legislation. Coming to the present day he remarked:

"Let us now reconnoiter our present position. Besides silk industries, indigo plantations were once in a flourishing condition. Government wanted indigo for her own purposes. She forced the cultivators of Bengal to plant indigo, giving Re. 0-1-6 per head to those who cultivated it. At last Bengal is stood at bay. They were thrown in

prison and their property confiscated. A number of them never returned to see their anxious parents and a mystery hangs over their fates up to the present day. Our rulers did not stop here. They threatened to set up the Pathans to violate their wives, and I am sorry to say these disgraceful threats were practically fulfilled.

"Gibbon[3] is vain-glorious on the imaginary privileges which his nation has granted to conquered races. But I ask, what has the Punjab gained in return for its invaluable help during the Mutiny. The arms which we employed to kill our friends, neighbours and relations in the defence of the British Government were wrested from our hands. Do we now get those responsible posts which were once held by Todar Mal and Birbal[4] during the Muhammedan suzerainty?

"The condition of Indians in foreign countries is a disgrace to humanity. In South Africa an Indian Raja cannot walk on the public highway but a European's dog can follow its master, wherever it pleases. An Indian cannot stay in a first class hotel or travel in a first class carriage. He must remain indoors after 9.30 p.m. If he dares go abroad after this hour nothing can save him from the clutches of the law, not even the dying declaration of the invalid, on whose entreaty he went away to fetch a doctor. He must be content to live in a segregated habitation far removed from the quarters of the white man.

"To return to India. What a sad spectacle it is that forces itself on our view? On the recommendation of the Ferozepore Municipal Committee the bodies of Ghazanfar Ali, late Extra Assistant Commissioner, of his wife and daughter-in-law were exhumed from the graveyard, under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner. This cruel order was for a time suspended by the Lieutenant-Governor, but in the end that high functionary was obliged to give in because he dared not rescind the order of his subordinate, as it would have lowered the latter's prestige.

"It is a pleasure to note that our legal practitioners are, as a class, men of independent views. But let me tell you what a poor figure the Lyallpur Bar has put on a recent occasion. They contemplated holding a meeting to thank government for having adopted certain amendment to the Colonization Bill. Invitation cards were issued and the people were exhorted to join them. The *Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan,*

Lahore, having got wind of the affair, sent Lala Bishan Singh, Ishar Dass and myself to dissuade the people from joining the traitors. It is gratifying to know that we amply succeeded in our task. The people who had assembled to listen to the Lyallpur Bar heard our arguments with rapt attention and showed such deference to our opinions that they refused to grant a hearing to the members of the Lyallpur Bar when their turn came. On this occasion Teja Singh, a wealthy and influential Zamindar, declared his willingness to part with his landed property, which is worth a quarter of a million rupees, if the Colonization Bill could be thrown out. He would sell himself and his children to undo the mischief.

"The duty incumbent on every well-wisher of this country is to eradicate the existing evil. For the past two decades our National Congress has been deliberating ever the means to gain this end. It has arrived at a definite conclusion that India cannot be prosperous under a foreign yoke. Sir Fuller[5] has indeed gone, but Mr. Mant[6] succeeds him. The Grand Old Man of India[7] has told us that India's salvation lies in self-government. Australia made no petition to get self-government, nor did the Boers submit any memorial. America did not apply to England for favours. They only showed Englishmen that they were their equals, both in the art of peace and war. You cannot expect a king to leave his royal palace to share your hovels, nor can you hope for a voluntary resignation of temporal power by the dominant race. If you think that such an impossibility can take place, let me warn you that you are making a serious mistake quite incompatible with the laws of nature. It is true that nature never allows one people to hold eternal sway over another. An alien government which has no sympathy for the people cannot succeed, and it is to be presumed that an unsuccessful government cannot establish its rule for ever. Nature has made man independent. Those forces which tend to bind him in slavery must sooner or later be destroyed. It is my fixed opinion that our difficulties will not be lessened until we have a government of our own. It is absurd to raise a rebellion, for active resistance is useless. But a little passive resistance will have the desired effect. We all know that our moral support is the mainstay of the Indian Government. If it is withdrawn the whole superstructure will collapse. If we go on helping the government we shall be traitors to our country and sinners

against the national cause. The Manchester and Lancashire Manufactories were built with the blood of our Indian workmen. Would you like to wear these bloodstained clothes on your head? I would recommend you to trample them under foot, nay they should serve for bonfires. Let it be your first duty to encourage the indigenous industries of your country. The British Government lives in a house of glass which can be broken in a moment. Our own help has made it impregnable. A Russian friend of mine once told me that it would be impossible for one hundred and fifty thousand Englishmen to rule over thirty crores of Indians, were not the latter destitute of all manliness, and I was forced to admit the truth of his remarks. If you could make Indians give up the posts they hold as public servants under the British Government, and make the *khansamas, bhishtis,* sweepers and *punkha* coolies refuse to serve under Englishmen, you would gain your emancipation in an hour. You should prepare to make sacrifices for the sake of your country and hazard your lives to advance the national cause. Even the women of England have shown an example of marvellous strength of character and unflinching resolution. They made an attack on the house of commons, beat down all resistance, and penetrated as far as the august assembly to lay their grievances before the house itself. Suffragettes will succeed, but Indian men will not.

"For the sake of your country and for the sake of your children work out your emancipation. Ultimate success rests in your own hands."

3. SPEECH AT LAHORE, 7 APRIL 1907 (11 a.m.)

"I do not fear to speak. There is a devil in the head of government, it does not consider us. The whole of India is in great trouble. We are being beaten and abused every day. We have appealed that the powers of the Deputy Commissioners should be diminished but no one hears us. We cannot do anything until we uproot the English. You should act upon the words of our ancestors, otherwise you will have to repent afterwards. Our ancestors have said *paradhin supne sukh nahin* (no one can get comfort even in his dreams while under another man's rule). The Gurus have said that wordly things are false and destructive. Our Guru was a true king and, therefore God is also true. He who oppresses others will not go unharmed. Our government has got no

authority to rule here. The government is now leaking like a water pot that has got a hole in it and it will soon expire. The Deputy Commissioner hears cases while on tour. The people who follow him are beaten and driven back. You must not go to court. You must oppose them (the English). They cannot load our lands upon their vessels. We must now rise, attack them and be free. Let them put us in jail. Their evil days are coming. We cannot live under the control of others. The work is not easy, but will become easier by and by. If you Hindus and Muhammedans will unite and rise, you will be able to conquer the whole world. You should hold committees in the villages. See, the son of your Emperor is a cook at Aligarh. The money of this country is going to London and you are getting currency notes in exchange. When the English leave the country, who will pay you your money? Those who are in favour of the English now, in order to obtain petty benefits and honours, should consider their future fate now. They will be blown from guns. You are lions among lambs. You should realise what you are and become lions? All of us should be ready to die. God will bless him who lives as a true man for his country. The blood of the men, who sacrificed their sons, conquered China and Africa, will now rise and the English will be expelled out of the country."

4. SPEECH AT LAHORE, 1 APRIL, 1907 (5 p.m.)

"I have come to the platform merely to give you the message of our mother country. Efforts are being made to frighten us by telling us that we shall be arrested and sent to prison. We do not care for this. There are detectives here. They are bastards, may disgrace fall upon them. We must take the trade and management of our country in our own hands. Do not think that we can do nothing. We could be free in two days. See! the five devotees of Guru Gobind Singh upset the whole country. The Moghuls, who were believed to be very strong, were driven out of the country. So we should drive out the English. The English are tyrants. Not only is Bharat Mata rising, but the whole world. Who did the work in Iran? Tilak and Surendra Nath Bannerjee[8] made no speeches there. The wealth of Bharat Mata attracted these white tyrants to the country, and now they possess the whole land. The thieves are walking on the roads of Kashmir and Shimla. We should not help government whether it works justly or unjustly, because it

does not belong to our country. The English are robbers, we should expel them. The words I am speaking may be an offence; I may be imprisoned or hanged; but I do not care for the law. I wish to trample the law under my feet. The tyrants should be murdered. If any one will murder Sir Charles Rivaz[9] and Mr. Mant, God's blessings will be upon him. I would congratulate him. Do not think I am abetting murder. In reality I would certainly congratulate the man who would do this. The white wish to govern the black, we will draw some pictures next week, which will show how they wish to govern us. They say that they were born to rule. They wish to govern us, but they are so shameless that they walk naked in their bungalows. The Hindus and Muhammedans should unite. We must do something practical. The peasantry are acting well. We must now bid a last farewell to the English. We should die for our self respect. Do not think that the English are brave. They are very timid. When one is frightened, all get police constables to guard their bungalows. It is our luck that we have to fight with cowards. Ram Singh and Labh Singh went to the Chenab Colony. The people have now resolved to refuse to pay the taxes. If their request that the new Bill shall be cancelled should be refused such events will occur that the English will leave the country."

5. EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED AT MULTAN ON 17 APRIL, 1907

"When Lord Clive saw Murshidabad he remarked that it was a richer city than London. Formerly all-Indian cities were rich, but they have now become poor, because the English have destroyed the industries of the country by supplying cloth goods from England at cheaper rates.

In 1859[10] the Queen issued a proclamation that the rights of Indians and of the English would be considered equal, but this has not been the case.

In 1877 when 50 lakhs of the people died in Madras, Lord Lytton[11] held a durbar at Delhi to proclaim the Queen Empress of India. When spoken to regarding the famine Lord Lytton said that he had not been informed of the matter in time.

If there are any secret of other police present, they should note that two men of the *Punjabee* newspaper have gone to jail for the sake of constable Rafat Ali, in whose death Mr. Spencer was concerned.

The two men have gone to jail, but Spencer's face has been blackened, and his house in near (ly) a graveyard.

Since the mutiny, we have fought in other battles on behalf of the English. We have helped them to become the rulers of India, under the impression that they would be just to us. Instead of this they have ill-treated us. First, they destroyed the industry of the country. Now they are going to deprive Zamindars of their rights in regard to the land they hold. The promises made to the people when the land was given (to) them have been forgotten.

When Hindus ruled in India they used to give *lagh* money to Rajas, such as is given to menials and servants at marriages. The British Government in the same way is given revenue. Now it wants to become the owner of the land.

The 16th of April should be commemorated the day that the men of the *Punjabee* newspaper were sent to jail.

For several years we have been representing our grievances to government through the Congress, but no redress has been obtained. There are one and a half lakhs of Europeans in India who are ruling over 30 crores of Indians.

Natives serving in the Army, in the Police, Canal and Civil Departments should resign their service. Cooks should give up cooking for the English, and we should then see how we should fare.

A meeting of 10 to 15 thousand Zamindars was held at Lahore, and telegrams were sent to the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, to say that in future taxes would not be paid on account of canal water, but that water would be taken free.

Forty crores of rupees are sent every year to England to pay the pension of Englishmen who have returned, and to pay for English goods sold out here, cursed, a thousand times cursed, be the government that has made us so proverty-stricken!

We should follow the example of the Bengalis. Now that we know our rights we should unite and press for them. The people at Lahore, of the *Malwa*,[12] *Manjha*[13] and Amritsar, have taken up the matter and are protesting against Government."

6. SPEECH AT RAWALPINDI, 21 APRIL, 1907

"Hindus, Muhammedans, officials, sepoys and others are brothers to each other. Government is like a vapour or nonentity when compared with us. The Bengalis took the 16th October as a National Day. We have followed them and have made the 16th April our Red-letter Day. Jats and landowners are in reality the masters of the Crown and Kingdom. The present rulers are our menials, and it is shameful to present petitions to them. It is also odious that our menials should redress our grievances. The Deputy Commissioners and Superintendents of Police, and other high officials are at our service as *Khidmatgars.*

The promises held out to us in the Proclamation of 1857 have never been fulfilled, and rulers should not tell lies. At the time of the mutiny the government was in great trouble and owing to its precarious position at the time it accepted, whatever we dictated and made us false promises. In fact government has never made any promise to us with the intention of fulfilling it. The rulers have now increased the land revenue four to sixfold with the object of starving the Indians and discouraging Indian manufacturers in order to benefit themselves. Be shot and do not mind, rather consider that you died of plague. Die for your country. One and a half lakh of Europeans are nothing compared with 29 crores of Indians. If you are sent to jail think that you go to *Tirath.*[14] Although they have got guns, rifles and other arms yet we will evaporize them in a minute, for God will come to the rescue of his oppressed people.

Plague is working *havoc* amongst you, and it is better to die the more honourable death of the martyr for your country. I will give you an example to encourage you and show how success may be achieved. The cultivation of indigo was once unfairly forced on the Bengalis. The whole country was made to grow indigo, and people were put to great trouble and hardship. They yielded for a time, but finally prevailed. They made a stout stand against the actions of government and, as their cause was righteous, they succeeded in their efforts.

Duty on wheat has not been increased by Government, because wheat grown in India is sent to England. Duty on sugarcane and cotton has been increased with the object of reducing their growth and forcing the people to grow wheat for export to England.

Oh! my brothers, Hindus and Muhammedans, if you cannot unite together, tell me plainly. We are not so fallen as to give up hope. If you cannot agree to make common cause you had better leave the place.

Englishmen have no sympathy with us. I will illustrate what I mean? A famine once visited China and threatened to continue. People were stricken and died in numbers, and death prevailed in the land while nature mocked. It lasted some 11 years. At last the people requested the Raja to undertake a pilgrimage bare-footed and bare-headed, and out of the fulness of his heart, the Raja consented, with the result that the face of the nature changed, rain fell copiously, and the people were saved.

Mark the immense sympathy displayed by the ruler. On the other hand, look at the attitude of our rulers. When famine became a scourge in the land in the time of Lord Lytton, who should more probably be syled 'Lutton' (robber), people died inlarge numbers, and Lord, regardless of those who perished before his eyes, lived in luxury in Delhi, unmoved by the surrounding scene. Can such behaviour on the part of those who hold the reins of Government be tolerated?

Beware my countrymen, Lord Minto,[15] our present ruler, calls us prosperous in spite of our having fallen so low, and it is clear that our rulers rejoice in our fall and do not wish us to continue to eke out an existence. The motives and actions of government are all directed to making as poorer still.

In this connection I must tell you that in Lyallpur people who cut branches from trees were considered offenders and were imprisoned; now fines have been substituted in order to swell the British treasury and beggar the Indians.

All that said you will easily understand, and you will be impressed and encouraged by the poem which I have just read.

Lastly, I wish to impress upon you that, if you are men, you should strike the iron while it is hot, and grasp the golden opportunity now held out to you. Otherwise you may despair of your lives and you will not deserve the name of men. During the Civil War in England women acted more courageously than you are doing. History tells us that these women succeeded in their object, and I fail to see why men should not succeed like-wise if they unite against the government."

7. SPEECHES AT BATALA, GURDASPUR DISTRICT, 27, 28 APRIL, 1907

27th April—Ajit Singh stated that the progress of a nation depended on three things—local industries, agriculture and trade. In India the English were destroying local industries, gave no help to the farmer and were ruining trade. He proceeded to pointout the state of affairs in the Chenab Colony. He referred to the remarks made by Mr. Douie, who had stated that the action of government was illegal and unjust. To justify this action government had recently passed a law. In enhancing the taxation he likened government to the tailor who after making a coat for a constituent demanded an enhanced price because the coat exceeded the purchaser's expectations!

Government had unduly taxed cotton and sugar.

He informed his hearers that the colonist in the (Bari doab) had resolved to take no more water from the canal and to refuse to pay further taxes. He urged them to refuse to pay their revenue, government was powerless. Government could not send every one to jail. He implored them not to be a afraid but to be willing and ready to go to prison for the sake of the country and the people.

Quoting the case of the *Punjabee*, he urged them to become notorious, as the proprietor and editor had gained notoriety by their fearlessness.

He advised them to make their own committees and subcommittees to settle their own disputes. Did the youths of 20 from England understand their affairs as they did? No, then avoid the English courts.

He urged all-Government servants to resign their appointments, and others to cease paying revenue like the colonists of Lyallpur had sworn to do. The oppression of the English was beyond endurance. He instanced the case of Sergeant Karam Singh of the Delhi Police who was murdered by a soldier. The soldier was acquitted. What justice!

He urged them to no longer submit to bad treatment by Englishmen. If they should be struck or beaten, they should strike back. The English were powerless, the Government tyrannical and British rule would cease one day, whether today, tomorrow or 10 years hence.

28th April—In continuing his speech of the previous day, Ajit Singh said that it was unnecessary to urge the people to joint action. The people of India, were one. The government called all natives *Namak Haram*. They all came under the same category. It was the government and all its officials that were *Namak Haram*. Britain was only powerful because of India. It was the Indian Army that assisted England in its foreign wars. England's position was due to the Indian Army. The native population of India numbered 30 crores. Europeans numbered only 150,000. What could the latter do against the former? The urine of the native population of collected together was sufficient to drown all Europeans in India. He scoffed at the British Army. It was an army of cowards. Since the recent demonstrations in Lahore, British soldiers were afraid to patrol the streets. He urged them all to take an example from the people of Tarn Taran and other places and to refuse to pay land revenue. He said that God had sent plague into the country solely to teach the people to use the power they possess. Lakhs of people were dying of plague, many more would die. It was better to die for their country than to die of plauge. He implored the people to use their power and to consider what could be done with their power?

8. SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE BHARAT MATA MEETING, LAHORE, 1 MAY, 1907

Ajit Singh first of all urged the necessity of the Hindus and Muhammedans making common cause against the British and accused the government of fostering the antagonism between the two races. He then drew parallels between events in the history of England, which led to the general freedom of the England people, and the events taking place in India at the present time. He commented upon the dishonesty of the British and said that they employed every means to incite and keep alive feelings of hatred against natives. He scoffed at the so called favours shown to the Indians by the British. Referring to the remission of enhanced rates for water on the Bari Doab Canal, he said that government pretended that the postponement was due to Zamindars having taken no part in the present agitation. On the contrary, the Zamindars had refused to pay revenue and were prepared to rise against the government and loot the treasuries. Referring to the Police,

Ajit Singh stated that they were not opposed to members of the force; on the contrary, he hoped that men who were now serving as Sub-Inspectors and Inspectors would become the captains and Generals of their nation. In conclusion he urged his audience to be prepared for action.

9. EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED AT LAHORE IN 1907

Nothing has happened as yet. Hindus and Musalmans unite. Now is your time. We are 30 crores. They are a lakh and a half. A puff of wind would blow them away. Cannons are of no account. One finger can easily be broken. When five fingers join to make a fist no one can break it (This was given with great emphasis and flowers were thrown).

They have come from over the seven seas to rule over us. In Lord Lytton's time lakhs of people died of famine, but he used to spend his time in going from one place to another. Once there was a famine in China, but the Raja gave up all his wealth. When that did not suffice, the Raja went bare-head and naked through the city. Then the rain came.

Plague has carried off thousands of our brothers, but government has not concerned itself. Don't pay the revenue. Rather consider the jail a place of pilgrimage. The Munshis are on our side. The Sepoys are on our side. The bearers and *khansamas* are with us. Let the Sahibs cook their own food.

I once had a conversation with a Russian. He said, "you are so many, your rulers are so many." I was ashamed and kept silent. I would give no reply.

10. SPEECH AT THE BRADLAUGH HALL, LAHORE, 9 MARCH, 1908

"Gentlemen—It is a long time since I have had the opportunity of addressing a meeting of this sort, and in the same way as I feel happy at being once more amongst my fellow countrymen, so I feel at the release of our friend Bepin Chandar Pal. It has been the custom in India since the days of old to commemorate the lives of our heroes by

selecting one particular day to be observed as a festival, and it is only by this means that the memory an the names of our heroes who lived in the past have been kept alive to this day. Our greatest festival is that which is held in commemoration of the return from banishment of Ram Chandar. Today Ram Chandar's son has returned to us, and we must celebrate and commemorate the day (*Note*—Bepin Chandar Pal is the son of Ram Chandar). I will relate to you some of the incidents of the life of Bepin Chandar Pal. Bepin Chandar Pal was born in the year 1858. After completing his education he came to Calcutta, and there he used to attend the lectures of Keshab Chandar Sen[16] and began to incline to the religion of the Brahmo Samaj. His father hearing of this became angry with him, but in spite of his father's opposition he stuck to his principles and became a member of the Samaj. His father then disinherited him, but he continued steadfast. In his early life Bepin Chandra Pal began to break the bonds of the caste system and adopted broader views and principles. He married the widowed niece of Babu Surendra Nath Banerji and thus encouraged widow remarriage. Being a man of principle and a strict observer of truth he has invariably succeeded. His father, who was at first angry with him and deprived him of his inheritance, forgave him on his death-bed and lift him all his property. After the death of his father Bepin Chandar Pal became headmaster of a school at Calcutta, but having a great love for his birth place, Sylhet, he moved there and opened a school. As will be seen, Bepin Chandar Pal from the very first applied himself to the amelioration of the condition of his nation. In the early days of the Congress, when Badr-ud-din Taybjee[17] was President he raised his voice against the passing of the Arms Act. This is what is called patriotism. Every man has a desire to win a good name for himself and to this end strives his utomost even to death. But the true desire is the desire to benefit the whole nation and one's motherland. The spirit of this desire is called patriotism. Examples of true patriots are to be found in every nation and in every country. In the year 1857, in the days of the Mutiny, when the Indian Army was besieging the British in the Fort at Delhi, Lieutenant Willowby decided to explode the powder magazine himself rather than let it fall into the hands of the enemy, who might utilise the powder to destroy his fellow-countrymen. This he did, and though some lives were sacrificed, many others were saved. Mr. Willowby's name lives to this day. This is one

example of patriotism to sacrifice one's own life for the sake of one's countrymen. I give you another. In the same year Feroze Shah, a prince of Delhi, marched with two hundred sepoys to Moradabad, where there was a magazine belonging to the English, which was at the time guarded by the Nawab of Rampur, an ally of the English. A battle ensued between Feroze Shah and the Nawab. English troops were sent to reinforce the Nawab of Rampur and Feroze Shah, seeing that if the magazine fell into the hands of the English they would use it to the utter destruction of the Indian Army, determined to enter the magazine alone and fire it, thus killing many of the white soldiers and destroying the powder, rather than let it be made use of by the English. This Feroze Shah did and thus saved the lives of many of his countrymen.

"I will show you other forms of patriotism. At the Paris Exhibition amongst other things there were some plantains. A native of India who had been living in Paris for some years saw the fruit and began to weep. It was the love of his country that brought tears to his eyes at the sight of the fruit, which was the product of his beloved country.

"The savage tribes of Africa extol the richness of their country and believe it to be better than any other country, and prefer to be buried in their own land.

"The Norwegians, whose country is very poor, claim that truth, patriotism and loyalty can be learnt in their country alone.

"An English ambassador once went to Persia, and whilst walking one day on a hill was asked by the shepherd whether his country was as fertile. In reality the country war barren and sterile.

"An Arabian woman once went for a trip to England, and on her return to her own country was asked what she had seen?. She replied that she had seen many things, but that the unfortunate people had not planted a single palm tree.

"The Chinese regard all other nations as barbarians.

"The boys of different schools play cricket matches amongst each other, and every body of the school that wins a match exults and prides himself on the triumph of his school although he may not have so very much concern with the school. When boys feel so much for their schools why do not you people feel for your country in which you were

born and brought up? You people are like dogs. You are loyal as the dog is, who for the sake of his stomach alone remains attached to his master. You too are disloyal as a dog is, who for the sake of bread will change his master. Dogs though loyal in one way are disloyal in another, and for this reason are regarded as filthy creatures. A cat is loyal for she returns to the same place even if she is driven away from it. There are many men amongst us who only knowhow to fill their stomachs and do not knowhow to feel for others. No matter if you are rich and drive in carriages, if you have no patriotism you are no better than dogs. I have no regard for my life nor do I mind trouble, but I am everready to answer the call of duty to my countrymen. Cultivate patriotism and then neither the tyranny of the oppressor nor the sword of the assassin can terrify you.

"When the English first came to India—I mean before the Mutiny—they used to see Rajas being driven about in gorgeous carriages surrounded by bodyguards, for on account of their injustice and misrule they were hated by the people and feared to walk alone. The English cursed this life of bondage where there was no freedom and liberty, for they went about freely and they were admired by the people as just men and no one thought of injuring them. In those days the English dealt out justice, but they have gradually become unjust. Look at the case of Mr. Clarke (?), who vexed the people sorely and consequently became so frightened that on retiring he left the city the very secretly lest he should be killed. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* remarked that it would have been better if he had gone away in the disguise of a woman seated in palanquin. Tyrants are afraid even in their dreams. They see some man whom they have oppressed attacking them and start with terror. The police cannot protect them in their dreams. Men of clear conscience are not afraid of any trouble. On the contrary, the more you tax their energies and the more you worry them the more energetic they become. They are like gold which becomes of greater value the more it is refined by beating. Men with black and evil consciences like Aurangzeb cannot prosper in the world. Bepin Chandra Pal is not so pleased at his release as he is at his determination to remain resolute to his opinions. Kindly read the tales of the treatment accorded to Indians abroad. In China a notice is placed at the entrance of every garden, "Dogs not admitted." When an Indian tries to enter the garden he is stopped and treated as though he were a dog. He is

told that he does not deserve any respect. In the Transvaal and in Natal Indians cannot enter unless their finger impressions are first taken. If Jesus Christ was now alive he could not enter those countries without having his thumb impression taken, for he was an Asiatic. Mr. Nevinson accused Indians of being too meek, and this has been repeated in Parliament, and it is a fact. Therefore, my brothers, you should become stern now. You must suit yourselves to the times. Be meek when it is necessary to be so and be stern when occasion requires. Do not always follow one policy. Look at the English. They deal gently and harshly as the occasion requires. The policy of repression is nowadays being advocated in parliament. Do not follow each other blindly, a habit which is characteristic of Indians. Become men of principle and of independent opinion. Once upon a time in the district of Muzaffargarh a man at the marriage of his son let out a cat which was placed underneath a basket. Eversince then it has become customary to release a cat on the occasion of a marriage.

"Bepin Chandra Pal has made a great name for himself in the world for his fortitude and patience in bearing his troubles."

Turning to the second subject before the meeting Ajit Singh said: "We should feel sorry at the untimely death of Gurdas Ram, Barrister-at-Law. I was not sorry when I heard of his being imprisoned, for his was a noble cause. He was kept in jail for six months, not on a charge of theft or for debauchery or murder, but simply because he raised his voice on behalf of that community which gives you your collars and clothes, which feeds those who rule over us, and which fills the treasuries of the king, namely the Zamindars, and because he strongly opposed the enhanced rate of water-tax. I did not know him personally. My only connection with him was that I delivered a lecture at Rawalpindi at a meeting at which he also was present and at which he spoke. I was kept in exile for six months from my country, while he was kept for six months in jail. When the pleaders were discharged at Rawalpindi by Mr. Martineau an innocent question was asked in Parliament, whether the pleaders should be awarded compensation for the troubles suffered by them in jail, but Mr. Morley replied that this was unnecessary. Why? Because they were natives.

"I received a letter yesterday informing me that Saiyid Haidar Raza Khan[18] of Delhi had been arrested and was being prosecuted on

some charge. This letter was written by the second Editor of the newspaper *Aftab*. The news does not grieve me, but is a source of pleasure for I believe that he is going to suffer martyrdom in the cause of patriotism, and for sticking to his principles. Honour and respect are achieved by martyrdom. If Ram Chandarji had not been exiled he would not have gained the reputation that he now commands. This too is true of Bepin Chandra Pal, and Saiyid Haidar Raza will soon attain the honour of martyrdom."

Ajit Singh then proposed that a telegram should be sent to the Calcutta newspapers expressing joy at the release of Bepin Chandra Pal, and that a letter should be sent to the relations of Gurdas Ram conveying an expression of sympathy.

"I do not speak from any sense of fear of Government or of its officials, but I cannot refrain from saying that the unreasonableness and harshness of the treatment of Gurdas Ram was the work of an individual, and that Mr. Agnew if responsible on the whole rather than government."

11. CONVERSATION WITH THE PEASANTS AT LYALLPUR JUNE 26, 1908

Sardar Ajit Singh came to Chak No. 205 in the Lyallpur district on the 26th June 1908 to attend a wedding. He is said to have spoken as follows in the course of his conversation with some of the wedding guests:

"Is it not our duty to hindel the tyranny and high-handedness of the English? It is our duty, for they are in reality our servants, and no foreign king has ever committed such tyranny as they. The Mussalman kings were a thousand times better than they. If no native Extra-Assistant Commissioners or Tahsildars were appointed, it would make natives anxious to turnout the English. Now for two years will men do this work (be Extra-Assistant Commissioners and Tahsildars) because there shall be a great change, nay, day by day there is an increase and the bread of flatterers shall continue perhaps for only two years Muhammedans are no longer kept in the Secret Police, for the Hindus do not trust them. The Secret Police has been greatly increased. They are present in the Government College, the Mission College, the

D.A.V. College, in every department and in every office. Two boys, who appeared to belong to the Secret Police, have been turned out of the D.A.V. College. To bomb English people in trains is easy, as they travel separately in 1st and 2nd class carriages in which no native travels. It is now intended to kill the Secret Police."

12. SARDAR AJIT SINGH ALONGWITH PARSHAD AND KIDAR NATH CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING LEAFLET AT LAHORE, AUGUST 7, 1908

People, Open your eyes! Men, drown yourselves.

A FRESH NOTICE

Kill the *Feringhees!*

People, do you really not realise what is the state of our country? Yet even now you will not rouse yourself from sleep. You will regain possession of our country only when the *Feringhees* are utterly destroyed. Do you not know that there was once a day when everything was to be had in plenty, but that now instead of there being plenty it is difficult even to find those self-same things? Formerly everything was cheap. Now for the same price one obtains only ■ tenth part. What is the cause of this? The cause is that the *Feringhees* have so robbed our country that where formerly nothing was to be found but bushes (that is to say, in England), plenty now reigns and where formerly there was abundance of gold, only bushes are to be seen. This is the result of our own faults. Since this is the present state of our country, why do you continue to sleep? You should see that all sons of the country become determined in the same resolve and, wherever the offspring of the English appears, you should destroy him with a bomb. Then you will be able to rescue your country from these wicked men. Our enemies surround us like ants surround a piece of sugar. We have often written on the subject and will continue to do so. I have given many lectures on the subject of bombs in many cities. I have been able to visit, and up to the present no one has stopped me. Those who have heard of our doings are delighted with us; and our workshops for the purpose of making bombs are now so widely established that the movement cannot possibly be stopped. Of course the *Feringhees* may bring pressure to bear upon us, but our cleverness is greater even than

theirs. We will even indicate where our special workshop is. It is close to the Himalayan mountains. We do not fear anyone, and write without any sense of dismay. But remember this, that if any Englishman ventures near the Himalayas, he will not return alive. There his work will be finished. People, become emboldened! If you have drunk of your mother's milk, do not become traitors. Strive your utmost on behalf of your country. See hundreds of our brethren are giving their lives to save their country. It is not our duty to hold back. We should step forward and advance even in front of them. You see that the fire is catching on all four sides, and the *Feringhees* in ourmidst are the wood that is being consumed. The nature of fire is such that it devours a thing in its entirety. The *Feringhees* should release our Tilak Ji Maharaj[19], else we will kill every *Feringhee* in turn, and will also too them.

Fear not! Fear not! Fear not! Fear not! Fear not! Ah ha! Be brave! Be brave! Be brave! Wah! Wah! Wah! Be quick! Be quick! Be Quick! What are you looking at! I do not know why you are plunged in thought?

Oh, my fellow-countrymen, awake, rouse up from your sleep you have slept over long!

People, regard me. Thrice have I been exiled. Oh, brethren open your eyes! What enemy has invaded our country? We have taught you how to make bombs in the newspaper *Yugantar.*

They have robbed our country. They have left us none of our industries.

Do not fear! We all must die once.

Whenever, you meet a *Feringhee*, kill him if you can. Do not fear to die. Carry out your desires.

We have often written (this advice) and will continue to write. We are not afraid of any *Feringhee*.

Shoot the *Feringhees*, so that trace of them shall remain.

Oh, *Feringhees*, be warned, else will bring you to naught.

Release our Lord Tilak, else will murder you *Feringhee* one by one, selecting each in turn.

Kill tham! Cast out all fear of jail! Go and gladly drink their blood.

We are sons of that mother whose sister is a snake.

We will bite them that those in England will remember us.

Brother, it is pity that though we have explained to you the method of making bombs, yet you, for some reason unknown have done nothing. Hasten!

13. LECTURE AT BRADLAUGH HALL, LAHORE, 29 NOVEMBER 1908

A monster meeting attended by about 5,000 people was held at the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore on the 29th of November at 2 p.m. The hall was packed, but responsible Indian publicists and politicians of the town were conspicuous by their absence. It had been announced that Ajit Singh would deliver a lecture on education, and thousands of Hindu and Sikh young men, with a sprinkling of Muhammedans and men of mature age, came to hear him.

Ajit Singh, who showed signs of recent illness and was dressed in the yellow garments of a *Sannyasi,* which he and some of his friends have vowed to wear till Mr. Tilak's release, rose to speak at 2.30 p.m., and delivered a rambling discourse on the necessity of national education, diversified here and there with bursts of native eloquence and punctuated by applause. He asserted that the education imparted in our Universities had been intended to denationalise the Indians, and the authorities had been to a large extent successful in attaining their object. Those education in our schools and colleges had become Europeanised to such an extent that they knew nothing of the great and glorious past of this country, took little interest in its present affairs and were careless for its future. They had become so false to their religion that they knew that English-made sugar was manufactured with the bones of the sacred cow, but showed not the slightest hesitation in using the *Bideshi* sugar. They had become so divorced from their past traditions that they were utterly lacking in respect for their elders, and imagined themselves the repositories of all wisdom. Now, however some of the educated men had begun to show signs of repentance. They did not think it beneath them to mingle with their

humble brethren and study the great past of glorious land, and endeavour to better its condition. Government had consequently resolved to strike at the root of higher education. It had at first proposed to extend primary education to the masses, but, afraid lest it might infect the agriculturist with the virus of unrest and discontent, it had decided to shelve that also. Students were now prohibited from taking part in politics, while those of England were instructed in them. The expenditure on education incurred by the British Government of India as compared with that of other countries was miserably small, and the teachers extremely low-paid. The private schools and colleges, too, followed the scheme of University education, and did little good to the country. But the powers that be looked askance at these institutions. He did not blame the authorities for these views. They naturally wanted to maintain their rule in India and must resort to any means to attain their end. But it was the duty of the sons of India to sink their differences and raise their motherland to its old position in the scale of nations. This country once possessed immense wealth; its agricultural products were more than sufficient to provide for the needs of its inhabitants, and its industries so flourishing that the products of its looms were exported to all parts of the world, even to distant Europe. Now, however a blight had fallen on the land. It had become one of the poorest countries in the world, chronic famine preyed upon its vitals, and its ancient industries were dead or dying. It was, therefore our bounden duty to improve this condition of affairs, the frowns of the authorities notwithstanding. He and some of his friends had received from the District Magistrate warnings that they should not carry their intended publication of seditious books or pamphlets into execution. It seemed the authorities had now become so omniscient that they could divine the thoughts of others. But while they had received warnings from government they were also receiving warnings from their motherland. The authorities wanted them to desist from spreading the light. The interests of their country demanded that they must dissipate the prevailing ignorance and impart knowledge, and they would remain true to their country, whatever the cost. Englishmen might, if they liked, construe this into sedition. Being the ruling race they could put any interpretation they liked upon his words. But he did not advocate that the Britishers should be driven out of India. The people of this country could not do so if they would; it was beyond

their power. (Here there was some disturbance in the crowd and the pale face of Ajit Singh became a shade more pale. But it transpired that some advertisement in pamphlet was being distributed). But it was their bounden duty to spread education. Let every man who knew any language take a vow to teach that language to at least one man so as to enable him to read newspapers and books, and the work of education would be carried on without any hitch or expense. It was knowledge that was wanted by the people of India, and knowledge must be propagated at all costs and with all sacrifices.

The above is a brief summary of the speech, but it was not so connected as the summary. It was a rambling discourse, and taxed the patience of some of his hearers, who, finding the speech not up to the expected level, left the meeting before it came to an end.

When Ajit Singh had concluded some people departed. Others were going to leave when it was announced that another man wanted to speak. A lean, raw-boned, short statured and dark-complexioned man, without beard or moustaches, then rose on the table and began to address the audience in English, with such fervour that many of those who had left were compelled to return and hear him. Then descended a flood of oratory which electrified the audience and moved them to laughter or tears at the words of the orator. With violent gestures and foaming at the mouth, he asked the public to root out the denationalising agencies at work. They were a great nation, a nation of heroes, a nation of gods. They could do nothing so long as they were unconscious of their power and thought themselves powerless. But once let them wake up and no human power, not God Almighty himself, could prevent them from becoming free. It was the destiny of India, the law of nature, the law of God, that India should become free. You could defy the British Government, you could defy the government of Turkey; but a defiance of the laws of nature, of the laws of God, was impossible. India was the source and fountain of all science and knowledge. From India the wave had traversed to the West, and lo! it had reached Japan. India's turn must come next. Let the people of the country forget their differences of class and creed; let them become men, and who would stand up before the roused lions? Try to become free! Leave no stone unturned to become free, make all sacrifices to become free, and the prize will be won, and the ancient greatness and glory—greatness and glory of India—will return.

Tremendous applause greeted the speaker as he descended from the platform after a speech of nearly one hour. People pushed forward to speak to this unknown man, who wore ordinary Swadeshi clothes with a *pagri* as head-gear and about whom it could not be said with any degree of certainty as to what part of the country he belonged; whose age even could not be estimated. Some said he was from Indore, others from Chittor, others, again, that he was a Bengali, while some took him for a Mahratta. But before the people could satisfy themselves about this matter, Ajit Singh again rose to speak. He deprecated some of the remarks of the last speaker; said that it was impossible to try to be free at the present moment; that he loved the English language, which was the language of liberty; and so no, and so forth, for about fifteen minutes. When Ajit Singh had again concluded the incendiary had disappeared, and no one could or would tell where he had gone, whence he had come, what name he bore and to what part of the country he belonged?

14. LECTURE ON "THE TILAK ASHRAM" AT BRADLAUGH HALL LAHORE, NOVEMBER, 1908

"Sir—It is proposed to commemorate Srijut Tilak's services to the cause of national unity and progress by founding an institution to be called the "Tilak Ashram," which should impart political education to the people of India. The best memorial to Srijut Tilak would be an institution which carries on the work which he commenced in the spirit of religious devotion. Tilak sacrificed his prospects in life and offered himself on the altar of nationalism in order to awaken the political consciousness of his countrymen. His work was in the main educational. He instructed the people in their rights and duties as civilized men and women, and taught them that they too had a glorious past, the remembrance of which should incite them to strenuous efforts in the future. His mission in life was the political education of the people. He lived and laboured not only for the intellectual few, but also for the common people, who are, after all, the final arbiters in political controversies. It is, therefore necessary that we should continue Tilak's work in a manner worthy of our great leader and of the cause which he loved. A popular institution which should diffuse

a knowledge of history, politics and economics among the people would admirably serve our purpose.

"The important work of political education has up till now been carried on in an irregular, unsystematic fashion by various individuals, by means of newspapers, pamphlets and lectures.

"It is high time that we should organise our resources and place Tilak's work on a permanent basis. The Ashram should contain a good Library of Indian History, politics and economics, and should welcome all earnest students of Indian political questions who choose to come and study. It should be a miniature university of politics for our nation. It should aim at training capable journalists, speakers and writers, who should spread sound political ideas among the people. It should be only an academic institution, it should not deal with temporary agitation or movements. It should stand for all time to come as the great symbol of those eternal truths which sustain and support national life. It should not get entangled in passing questions of the hour, and the difficulties that are involved in all movements relating to them. It should teach Indian History and politics and thus lay deep the foundation of nationalism in the minds and hearts of intelligent men of each generation. It will have nothing to do with current politics. It is enough if it should warn our people not to forget that they have a history and a country which they should love and cherish. For agitations die away, but wisdom abideth for ever, and in the present condition of India the gift of historical and political knowledge is the best of all gifts (Sarvesham eva dananam niti-gnana danam vishishyate)

"It is intended that a full-length portrait and bust of Srijut Tilak should adorn the Hall of the Ashram. Scenes from his eventful life should decorate the walls. The Ashram should be located in a place which attracts men from all parts of the country and should rouse patriotic emotions in the hearts of the visitors. A Tilak Ashram must be situated in the midst of suitable environments. All that is pure and holy and elevating must be associated with the name of Tilak, the great apostle of the political revival of our race, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the precursor of the mighty Hero, for whom the nation, true to its traditions, has been waiting for so long.

"It is, therefore proposed to establish the Ashram at Hardwar, Benares, or some other suitable place, the great rallying points of our

race from time immemorial. A Tilak Ashram at such place would keep alive the memory of our great leader for generations and would link his name with the traditional History of our nation.

"A museum of National relics and heirlooms, a picture gallery of India's great men, a free boarding-house for pupils who come to study and other useful adjuncts to the institution should be provided for if we wish to do honour to the memory of the great man who has been so cruelly taken away from us.

"The Tilak Ashram will be the nerve centre of nationalism. It will send out trained journalists and lecturers to all parts of the country; it will expound the meanings of our creed.

"It will guard the purity of our Gospel against natural decay or erroneous interpretations.

"It is hoped that all who appreciate the grandeur of the Ideal for which Srijut Tilak laboured all his life will contribute to the scheme outlined above. Let us demonstrate in a practical manner that we love and admire Tilak. *Sacrifice is the test of love.*[20] Srijut Tilak is undergoing the pain of separation from his friends and colleagues, his wife and children, and above all from the *Kesari* and the work to which he was called. Let us bestir ourselves and convey to him a spiritual message that what he left incomplete is being completed by us? We are the heirs of his mission, the spiritual children of the father of modern Indian Nationalism. Let us do our duty as men and brothers.

In action and action alone lies the salvation of our race.

"All contributions in the aid of the 'Tilak Ashram' to be sent to Sufi Amba Parshad, Manager, Tilak Ashram, Lahore."

Ajit Singh

Lahore (Punjab)

A summary of the speech delivered on July 11, 1909 at the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.

In the course of his speech at the Bradlaugh Hall on July 11th Ajit Singh remarked that if Englishmen were asked as to why coloured races were created, the reply would be that they have been created to be ruled by Englishmen and to serve them like slaves. He proceeded, "Morley and Minto can have no love for India as compared with the love a child of India has for its own country. Whatever, they do, they

say that they do it for the public good. This is quite absurd. They have imprisoned Mr. Tilak for the public good, deported Mr. Ashwini Kumar Dutt[21] and others for the public good. This is ridiculous on the face of it. Indians can very well say what is good for them and what is not; whatever, they do is not at all for our benefit. Being Christians, Englishmen cannot very well rub both Hindus and Mohammedans as well as their own kinsmen; that is to say, they cannot be idol worshippers and idol breakers at the same time, inasmuch as being protectors of the Hindus and their rulers, they must have some sympathy with them and their views; on this account they are, as it were, dealing double-facedly and attempting an impossibility." Ajit Singh then quoted from an English book and stated that the Romans first came to England for the sake of its beautiful ladies, a delicate piece of oriental abuse.

He referred to the Midnapore case, in which he said that the police made up false cases and tried to get several innocent persons hanged. All this bastardy of the police had come to light. Even in the Punjab, if the police to obtain credit were to make up false cases sedition and rebellion against the government, hundreds of people would come forward to give evidence. For instance, reports about that day's lecture would probably be to the effect that the lecturer was talking sedition and the Bradlaugh Hall was shaking.

After referring to the revolutions in America and France he was discussing the position of Egypt when he suddenly stopped and said, "Sardar Khan, you are again making mischief; you better behave yourself and go out." On this cries of "Catch him," were raised amongst the audience. Some 20 or 25 people thereupon rushed towards the seats in front of the lecturer where Sardar Khan was. The latter was sent away from the Hall. (Sardar Khan is one of the plain clothes men attached to the City Kotwali).

Ajit Singh then resumed his speech saying that this unpleasant incident was caused by a low and mean person of the lowest rank in the police department. He remarked that the number of police on duty seemed unusually large, and said, "This is not a matter for us to care a bit about, as they only add to the number of our audience. I, however consider it useless to depute so many policemen, as if Government wishes to stop our lecture it can do so by direct orders to that effect."

He then addressed the students and said that they should devote sometime to the welfare of the country, and he related the story of some one who applied to Mazzini for service in the army, and was asked whom he loved most. He replied that he loved his mother above everything. Mazzini thought such a person could not love his country, and was, therefore unfit for the country. On this, the applicant volunteered first to kill his mother; and Mazzini in order to test his earnestness gave him a pistol loaded with blank cartridges. The man went home and attemped to shoot his mother, and having thus stood the test he was taken into the army, and is said to have distinguished himself in after life.

Ajit Singh was profusely garlanded at the commencement of the lecture and flowers were showered on him both during and after the speech which lasted for about 2 hours.

It was remarked that at the conclusion of this speech Ajit Singh expressed his sympathy with the *Shuddhi* (conversion to the Arya Samaj) movement which he said was started by Lala Lajpat Rai. He stated that the movement had in view political aims and objects rather than religious ones.

16. VIEWS EXPRESSED BY AJIT SINGH AT A PRESS CONFERENCE, LAHORE, 9 APRIL 1947

"The Indian National Congress which is the biggest political organisation in India has during these many years fought India's battle for freedom and uncountable sacrifices have been made under its flag. As such Congress deserves the support of every patriotic person and I have pledged my support, therefore to this national organisation in whose way on one should create any impediments," declared Sardar Ajit Singh at a press conference this evening held at the office of the "Paras" where Lala Karam Chand had invited the press.

"Is there any change in your ideology as it was when you first started your independence struggle in the Punjab and now when you find a changed India on your return and do you think that the method of work must now also be different from what it was in 1907-10"? asked a press man.

In low but stout voice the ailing hero of the "Bharat Mata Movement" replied: "Ideology has of course not changed. I have lived to see the dream of my comrades and myself fulfilled. The dream was of a free India. I live in the hope that I will see India free. Methods of course change with the change of times. What gives me satisfaction and pleasure is that Congress had adopted the path which my colleagues and myself wanted it to tread. From mere petitioning, the extremists of the Surat Congress were anxious to make it a really revolutionary body which it has become today. ■ is now the duty of each one of us to lend our whole-hearted support to those who are shouldering responsibility on behalf of the Congress." Sardar Ajit Singh who said, "On being once again in this sacred soil of the Punjab and in Lahore where I had my schooling and which was the centre of my political activities I feel like having regained the lost paradise," was happy and proud to be back in his beloved mother country.

While he thanked all those who joined in extending him a warm and rather tumultuous welcome Sardar Ajit Singh said that while it gladdened his heart to see the onward march India had made on the road of political progress he felt unhappy and pained at seeing the indiscipline among the brave and stout people particularly of his own province whom otherwise he loved so much.

The brave Punjabees had earned ■ name for themselves even in countries beyond the seas and the Punjab infantry used to be a terror in the First World War and they proved even greater warriors in the Second World War. He wished such brave men should also learn discipline and make it a part of their national character.

Condemn Goondaism

He availed of the opportunity to condemn the barbarities which had been committed in the various provinces of India and he said that when the news regarding the horrible happenings in Bengal first reached Germany the Indians in that country were put to great shame and felt humiliated. He asked good men in all communities to condemn goondaism in every quarter.

Political Promises

"Let me say we must prepare ourselves for not only securing

responsibility but maintaining it also," said Sardar Ajit Singh who added, "No doubt that definite date has been fixed for the transfer of power into Indian hands but I wish to say that while we many expect the change to take place we should prepare ourselves for any eventuality arising which may result in the promise not being fulfilled. After all political promises have been broken and no one should depend upon any such promises. The British are after all no gods."

Japan and Germany

Referring to the activities of the Indian National Army which he said was for the first time formed in Italy, Sardar Ajit Singh said that they had as many as 11,000 Indians who had volunteered themselves to fight India's battle. Most of these were soldiers who were fighting on the British side and had been captured by Italian forces. Sardar Ajit Singh referred with feelings of gratitude the great part which he said Mr. Iqbal Shaidai played in Italy and Germany in organising the I.N.A. and representing India's cause. While Mussolini had agreed to a pact with the I.N.A. that he would have no interest of any kind in India but help her to be free, Germany and Japan revealed Sardar Ajit Singh had entered into an arrangement between themselves to divide into two for annexing the country. Such a plan came to be known and thereafter Indians refused to render any kind of help.

Italy had agreed [redacted] give full military training to I.N.A. men particularly in parachute work and even take them to India but Germany wanted to exploit Indians. When negotiations were started between the German representative and the Indian representative Mr. Iqbal Shaidai the Germans tried to hoodwink Mr. Shaidai to agree to their terms which he refused to do unless Hitler would make an unequivocal declaration that he would have neither economic nor political interests of any kind in India.

Refusal to Accept 5 Million

The Germans said that Hitler would make such an announcement when he had captured Caucasus for he knew when to do what? But Mr. Shaidai said that Indians could not trust Germans when their armies would be so close to the Indian soil. The German spokesman even attempted to mislead Mr. Shaidai by telling him that five million

Swiss coins had been deposited in a Switzerland bank in his name and he should begin the work of helping Germany. Mr. Shaidai told this German that he would not even touch that money so long German had designs of India.

Won't Die

Apart, however from that Sardar Ajit Singh said that he was convinced that Germany won't die in spite of what had happened to her and what was happening to her people even today? While the Russian and American occupied Germany were not experiencing much difficulty the people in British occupied Germany were being made to starve. They were living in what he described as "hellish conditions" yet he maintained that Germany won't die because, whatever small quantities of food people were getting they were fulfilling the needs of the youth first for they believed Germany had its hopes in them and the older people were taking, whatever little was left. Britishers in Germany were getting more to eat than they could get in Britain itself.

That was being done to weaken them morally and physically. German was at present deprived of all opportunities of making any progress in any sphere.

Horrible Conditions

Sardar Ajit Singh on the basis of his own personal experience of the British controlled concentration camps and the jails in Germany said that horrible conditions existed there. In Italy conditions were better but in Germany men in concentration camps and jails were deprived of every possible amenity due to any human being. Once in a week just for five minutes was he allowed to come out of his dark and dingy cell for a stroll and life there was awful.

He spoke good humouredly of such a thing as a "Gandhi barrack" so named by German after the Indian leader. He said all those German who lost one-third of their weight during their internment were kept in this barrack at Paderbon. He said Germans "know so much about Mahatma Gandhi" and added "even German nurses were familiar with Gandhiji's diet and used to tell me to take glucose because Gandhi took it.

Belongs to All

Sardar Ajit Singh declared that in the Congress he belonged to no party but belonged to all. He would regard everyone his brother. On such an occasion as this he said there was no fun in fighting with each other. They must all unite and work together.

To Be Shot Dead

Concluding Sardar Ajit Singh read out from a letter he had received from a friend in Germany wherein the friend had written that pictures of Sardar Ajit Singh and two others with him were being shown in the cinema houses underneath which was written after giving their names, "these men are being sent back to India for being shot dead." That was the type of propaganda which was being carried on, he added.

Welcome Address

Later in the evening at the premises of the Peoples Insurance Co. an address of welcome was presented to Sardar Ajit Singh on behalf of the Reception Committee by its Chairman L. Kidar Nath Sehgal, M.L.A. Entry to the gathering was restricted by tickets and among those present were Maharaja Pratap Singh, Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar, a number of M.L.As and Corporation Councillors, who squatted on the floor besides office-bearers of the P.P.C.C. and District Congress Committee.

Sardar Ajit Singh received an ovation as he accompanied by his brother Sardar Kishen Singh and others arrived at the meeting place and was garlanded.

After the address of welcome had been presented in which reference had been made to his sacrifices and the work he had done, Sardar Ajit Singh replying said: "I am lucky to be here among you. I feel like having come back amidst my own family for I regard the people of the Punjab as my own family." Being tired the distinguished speaker choose not to say much beyond paying his tributes to his old colleagues many of whom he said were no more. Those men, heroes like Sufi Amba and Lala Hardayal were labours they in India were now expecting to enjoy.

16. REPORT OF THE BRITISH AGENT IN ITALY IN REGARD TO SARDAR AJIT SINGH'S ACTIVITIES

Ajit Singh is guarded in his conversations but gives the impression that he is an admirer of Nehru and that be had great hope that the efforts of Gandhi and Jinnah might result in a solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem of India. He still inveighs against capitalism and against capitalists, who because of their money, are able to set themselves up as leaders of the people, but considers that the time is coming when materialism will not be able to stand up against spiritual values and that those who possess the spiritual qualities of leadership will no longer be relegated to the background. Events in Russia during the past year have greatly perturbed him: he is appalled by the executions of founders of the Soviet and of thousands of their followers and is anxious as to the fate of Ghadr Party members who had gone to the U.S.S.R. from America. These anxieties have not been lessened by the rumours which have reached him of the arrests of Chattopadhyaya and of other Indians. It is also clear that he cherishes a regard for Isher Singh.

17. REPORT ABOUT THE DETERIORATING HEALTH OF SARDAR AJIT SINGH IN NAPLES

Ajit Singh is not in good health and himself confesses to a deterioration in his physical and mental powers. He found the heat in Naples during the summer very tiring and paid a visit to Capri by way of recuperation, going on afterwards, as has been mentioned, to Switzerland, where he has been the guest first of Madame Tabatabai (wife of a former Persian Minister, now residing in Switzerland) in Territet, and later of another Persian friend (DJAMAL—ZADA) who holds a post in International Lahore Office in Geneva. He is due to return to his post in Naples at the end of October.

18. SECRET REPORT ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF SARDAR AJIT SINGH IN ITALY

Ajit Singh was broadcasting from Rome on behalf of the Italians before the War and after the outbreak of hostilities; engaged in suborning Indian prisoners of War in various camps in Italy and Germany. He became a prominent member of the Free India Movement in Rome

and assisted Iqbal Shedai in directing that movement. He is also reported to have sent a telegram to Rashid Ali and appealed to Indian soldiers in Iraq to cease fighting.

As regards his broadcasts, numerous receipts for the payment of broadcasts, signed as Hassan Khan (nom deguerre of Ajit Singh) have come into our possession to prove that he was broadcasting weekly from Rome Radio under the control of the Ministry of Popular Culture Rome from 18th October 1941 to 25th June 1943.

At the end of the year 1943 after the Italian Armistice, Ajit Singh moved to various places. Ministry of Popular Culture also moved to Venice in December 1943 and in July 1944 to Milan. A temporary station was set up at a place called Bevilacque—Boschi in June 1944. By this time the Germans permitted Himalaya Radio to resume its broadcasting.

Early in 1945 the Radio Station moved to Fino—Marnasco. The Radio ceased functioning in about March/April 1945, and Ajit Singh was arrested in May 1945.

19. CONFIDENTIAL HISTORY-SHEET OF SARDAR AJIT SINGH'S ACTIVITIES ABROAD

Sardar Ajit Singh is one of the oldest and best known Indian seditionists who was deported from the Punjab in 1907. He fled to Persia and then went to Switzerland on a Persian passport where in 1911 he was teaching language. In 1913 he associated with Madame Cama and other revolutionaries in Paris but next year went to Brazil where he hot in touch with the notorious anti-British Ghadar Party in San Francisco. He procured a Brazilian passport in 1922 in the name of Hassan Khan and visited the Ghadar Party in the Argentine. For some years he carried on his anti-British activities in Germany and Italy. In 1938 he met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Switzerland and agitated to return to India. In 1939 he was informed by the India Office that he had no claim to British India nationality. In the same year he applied for a passport to India which was refused. He was, however told that he could visit India on ■ Visa to be granted on his Brazilian passport. He did not avail himself of this offer and began broadcasting news from Naples in Urdu. During the War he continued his anti-British activities in Germany and Italy and took an active part in suborning Indian prisoners of war.

At the end of the War he was arrested and was, for sometime, in detention at the Paderborn Internment Camp in Germany from where he has since been released. In May, the Secretary of State for India was informed that, in view of his having adopted Brazilian nationality, the Government of India regarded him as an undesirable foreigner and was requested to inform the British Passport control authorities abroad not to grant him a *visa* for entry into India without prior reference to the Government of India.

The Indian Military Mission in Berlin have reported that on July 1, 1946 he was lying ill in a Civil Hospital at Bathel Biele-feld in Germany. We have no later official report about him but there have been press reports indicating that he is still at that place.

REFERENCES

1. B. 1827; Viceroy of India 1810-4; first lord of the admiralty, 1886; led the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, 1905-08; d. 1909.
2. Edward VII; b. 1841 King of England, 1901-10' d. 1910.
3. Edward Gibbon; b. 1737; English historian, author of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;* d. 1794.
4. Todar Mal and Birbal were two Hindus who held important posts during the reign of Mughal emperor, Akbar, 1556-1605.
5. Sir Bamflyde Fuller was the Lt. Governor of Bengal in 1905. His resignation was accepted by the Viceroy in 1906.
6. Mr. Fuller was succeeded by Sir Lancelot Hare in 1906. Mr. R.A. Mant was the District Magistrate, Lahore, during 1906-07.
7. Refers to Dadabhai Naoroji, one of the greatest figures in early Indian Nationalism; b. 1825; First Indian Member of British Parliament, 1892-95; President of the Indian National Congress, 1886, 1893 and 1906; d. 1917.
8. B. 1848; entered Indian Civil Service, 1871; dismissed from Indian Civil Service, 1874; teacher and journalist at Calcutta; President of the Indian National Congress, 1895, 1902, d. 1925.
9. Sir Charles M. Rivaz; joined I.C.S. 1863; served in Punjab as Assistant Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Financial Commissioner; additional member, Legislative Council of the Governor-General, 1896; Lieut. Governor, Punjab, 1902-07.
10. The Queen's proclamation was issued in November 1858. Among other things it said that "so far as may be, our subjects, of, whatever race or

creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

11. Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton; b. 1831; poet and diplomat; Viceroy of India 1875-80; responsible for Anglo-Afghan War in 1878; d. 1891.
12. The vast plain lying between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers is called *Malwa* possibly because it is as fertile as Mahwa in Central India.
13. Manjha; the portion of land between the Beas and Ravi rivers includes the *teshils* of Amritsar. Tarn Taran, Kasur and parts of Lahore and Chumian.
14. Pilgrimage.
15. Lord Minto (1845-1914) was the Viceroy of India, 1905-10.
16. B. 1838; social reformer, journalist, d. 1884.
17. B. 1844; member of the Bombay Legislative Council, 1882-86; President of the Indian National Congress in 1887; Chief Justice of Bombay High Court in 1902; d. 1906.
18. Syed Haidar Raza Khan was the editor of the newspaper, *Aftab* (Delhi). He was imprisoned on March 24, 1907 for the publication of anti-British literature.
19. Refers to Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1866-1920) who was jailed for sedition, 1908-14.
20. Italics in the original.
21. B. 1856; teacher, organised People's Association at Serampore and Barisal; attended first time the Session of Indian National Congress in 1886; one of the members to draw up constitution of I.N.C. in 1899; deported in 1908; President of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Dacca; d. 1923.

11

Rights and Duties of Human Beings

The content of man. Man is an image of God. Physically he is made of the five elements. He is conceived in the darkness of the womb. His body is a complex mechanism. The five senses carry impressions to the brain. The brain controls the physical system. The body is made up of bones, muscles, flesh, blood, skin and nerves. The functions of the body are motion, assimilation, reproduction, excretion and respiration. Each organ not ohly performs its functions but also works in harmony with other organs. The brain is the controlling agent of all the functions of the body.

The senses. There are five senses, namely, those of touch (hands and feet), tast (tongue), smell (nose), sight (eyes) and hearing (ears). Man is generally born with all these senses in a perfect condition. These five senses are called the organs of knowledge (*Gian Indris*). There are five other organs of action (*Karma Indris*). Such organs perform certain functions. They are the mouth, eyes, ears, hands and feet, private organ and anus, which do speaking, seeing, hearing handling and walking, procreating and excreting respectively. The human body is, therefore metaphorically called the city of nine gates. Both types of organs are essential for the individual. Man cannot live fully without the aid of these organs.

Man is undoubtedly an animal and something more also. Man cooks and thinks, animals cannot. Man has a mind which directs his aims and purposes. Animals satisfy primary needs like hunger and reproduction. Man has greater needs and thinks of ambition and achievement. Moreover, man has spirituality. He can attain salvation.*

* Mohan Singh Diwana: The entire journey of life, individual-universal, is of God, from God to God. (Sikh Mysticism, 1964 p. 43).

The Guru says, 'Human life is a golden opportunity and if it is not devoted to meditation, it is simply wasted." Mortal man is ensnared by the delusive pleasures of the moment and clings to passing vanities and follies. He, therefore is drawn to sin and has to go through the cycle of birth and death. Life is not sinful in origin nor does man have to suffer for the original sin, as the Christians believe. Human life has a pure source. The world is not a place of suffering as pessimists would have us believe, but the Abode of the True One. The body is unreal because it is subject to decay. Those who worship or decorate the body are simply courting disappointment. Man like a gardener must weed out the roots of evils, like a wrestler fight the five deadly sins, and like a bride yearn for the company of the bridegroom. It is only when men sets his heart on the eternal, on the imperishable truth that he can get real joy and bliss.

Constitution of man. Man is essentially a part of the Almighty, a ray of God's light, a spark of the Divine. The soul is a part of God. It clothes itself in a vesture called the body. Our body is a microcosm—a small world in which God lives. The whole universe is epitomised in the body. The three *gunas—Rajo, Sato, Tamo*—are within the body. It contains many hidden treasures. Guru Nanak says. "Within your own body is the true Pool of Immortality; let your mind drink the nectar there." God lives in it, but is not seen. At the time of death, the body ends, and the soul moves out. There are the three aspects of man: *Atma* (spirit), *Budhi* (intuition), *Manas* (intelligence. These three elements constitute individuality or ego in man. *Atma* (the spirit) is a subtle thing. The aim of the human soul is to merge with the Universal Soul. Both of them have the same nature and quality. Bliss is attained by the union of the soul with the Almighty—"light is blended with light." *Budhi* (intuition) is the power by which the mind gets at the truth without reasoning or analysis. It is the inner light which is seen in inspired souls. Intuition differs from intellect in the fact that it neither requires the help of senses nor reason to arrive at truth. *Manas* (intelligence) dwells in the mind. It must be held in control by constant practice of virtue. The mind runs after evil, anger, desires and passions. A stable mind neither feels the shock of pain nor the elation of pleasure.

The intellect. Intellect is that part of human mechanism which has the power to think and to understand. It is the business of the intellect to know the world and man's position therein. It must direct the individual to such acts as are in accordance with the laws of God.

The intellect strives for the knowledge of truth; it goes deeper into things to explore their nature and essence. It is reason which determines causes of things and studies the processes of the mind.

On its higher plane, the intellect must find out the principles of a good and pious life, must withdraw the mind from all evil thoughts, must think of God and duty to Him. To use the power of the intellect in obtaining technical knowhow or they why-and-where-fore of creation gives little benefit to the individual. A proper use of intellect is likely to help the devotee in his progress on the road to salvation. The intellect can give us fragmentary hints of the Beyond, but it does not give the consciousness of the Beyond which comes by personal contact with an evolved soul. In spiritual life, faith is supplemented by true knowledge and subsequent inner experience.

Desire. It is a wish or craving or hunger for some object. The senses come across new objects, and fresh desires arise. They can be divided under two categories: selfish and unselfish. All selfish desires are irreligious because, They encourage the ego or *haumai.* Such a desire is confined to the advancement or amelioration of the lot of the individual only. Even vanity or boasting is criminal. All unselfish desires are moral and worth cultivation. The motive behind such desires is the good of others and service of God's creation. Actions are moral or immoral according to the motives behind them.

The Will. Will is a power to do or not to do a thing. The will controls the senses and passions. The will is not subject to external control. It is independent and unfettered, and like a rudder steers the ship of life. It is a boon given by God to man and yet it retails a heavy responsibility on the individual. It is responsible for all our actions.

The will must be exercised properly. It should be firm and stable. It must do the right and proper things. It must try hard and allow no like or dislike, joy or sorrow to dissuade one from doing what is right? The will is the cause and the guide of volition (wish) and act (movement).

God has given man a will so that he may be free to do things as he likes. We must obey Him of our own free will.* A will that follows

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* Man's free will is subject to physical, environmental and hereditary factors. To the extent he is free to choice he is morally responsible and subject to praise and blame.

the good and harmonies with God's will is divine. A will that follows the ego and acts counter to the will of God is demonic and perverse. Broadly speaking, when we free ourselves from the ego or "I-am-ness," we exercise free-will.

The Conscience. Conscience is the inner voice within the individual.* It tells him what is right and what is wrong? We become happy if we follow its commands; we suffer it we disobey it. Conscience puts us on guard against sin and evil. It is the source of all that is best in man. Inside the individual, there is a perpetual struggle between good and evil, between God and Satan in man. God dwells in each heart as conscience and judges every little thought and action of ours. The conscience denounces evil and supports justice and righteousness. The conscience differs in different persons, depending on the evolution of each individual. The conscience also differs at different times in its firmness and power to control human actions. Whenever, we are in doubt, whether we should do a particular thing or not, we must appeal to the court of conscience. Persistent evil blunts the conscience and suppresses it.

Purity of mind. So long as the mind remains contaminated with worldly desires and passions, it remains unclean and foul. Guru Nanak says that just as a dirty cloth can be washed by rubbing it with soap, in the same way the heart, polluted by sin and evil, can be cleaned by the magic power of the Holy *Name.* On account of previous action (Karma), the mind has become dirty. It will, therefore require great effort and constant *Sadhana* to gain purity and virtue.

Just as we cannot see the bottom of a pool on account of the turbidity of water and the movement of ripples, in the same way we cannot see God until and unless desires (waves) come to an end and the mind becomes stable (with practice of virtue). It is the impurity of the mind which serves as an opaque screen. When it is removed, God becomes manifest—"Nanak's God is openly visible."

Egosim. Egosim (Haumai) means the assertion of the ego (egocentricity), or what some call *I-am-ness?* Like a cloud, haumai

* Conscience can guide one [redacted] the will of God. Guru Nanak says, "How shall we know the will of God? the will of God is embedded in the very core of human personality."

(Japji. 1)

keeps God hidden from our sight.* With the help of the Guru, *haumai* vanishes and we get a glimpse of the Almighty. God like the sun is a source of heat and light, but it cannot give both to us when it is covered by a cloud. In the same way, the ego keeps the glory of God away from us. When the individual regards his son, his house, his wealth as his own, he is engaging in *haumai*, because in reality he is not the owner of anything. He does not own even the self, much less his sons, houses and riches. Egoism is a deadly disease. It is like a partition-wall which separates the individual soul from the Universal Soul.*

In its ethical manifestation, *haumai* assumes the role of pride, pride of learning, power, money. It leads to arrogance which acts as a veil between the individual soul and the Universal Soul.

The Guru says that for this disease of egoism there is a cure. *Haumai* is a wall created by our wrong approach. When the individual absorbs himself in the Universal, 'I' and 'you' are changed into 'He.' I and You are real only to a limited extent. To lose the self is to become divine, to assert the self is to deny God. *Gurmat* or *Bibek Budhi* gives the realisation of the link between the finite and the infinite. When the individual melts the self in the fire of love, he becomes one with the Creator.

Destiny. Destiny or fate is neither irrational nor erratic. It is based on the law of *Karma* (causation). All things in the universe are governed by law; so there is the natural law of *Karma* which means: as you sow, so you shall reap. What you have sown in the past, you reap here. What you sow now, you will reap hereafter?

Action is preceded by desire, and desire is preceded by thought. Thought builds character. Desire provides opportunities. Action creates environment. So we must be careful of action. Guru Nanak says, "O foolish man! Why do you grumble, when you are rewarded according to your own actions?"

Sikhism accepts the law of *Karma*. Guru Nanak says, "Men are judged according to their acts. God is Truth and Truth prevails in His

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* The ego limits the Universal consciousness into individual consciousness, separating the *Jiva Atma* (God). This separate identity is the root of evil and suffering.

* Guru Nanak says, "Ignorance has its roots in the ego; it does not see Him in all things, but makes Him an image of itself."

court. Some few are accepted and honoured. The Merciful One sizes them according to their acts. The bad and the good are clearly distinguished." Again he says, "Actions shall be read out and the account will be explained in the presence of the Judge." Men do not become great or small by chance or by calling themselves so. They become noble or mean according to their acts. The recording angel records all man's act.* Hence God is not an unreasonable being delighting in man's suffering or sporting with His mortals. God does not, on His own, cause suffering: "The Creator takes no blame to Himself." Though all things work under His law. He does not generally undermine His own law by making exceptions. According to Guru Nanak, we sow the seed of *Karma* when, under the command of an asserting ego, we act for self-satisfaction and reap the harvest of suffering. When we learn to submit to His will, we cease to make new Karma. We act as instruments of His will; we sow no seed of action. We offer all our actions as a sacrifice and by a final act of self-surrender we remove the wall of separation and become one with Him. Of course when through the Guru's grace, the Lord is pleased. He tears away the record of actions, and in His great mercy, confers liberation from birth and death. Just as in the world, all crimes are punished by judges, but it is open to the King or President of a State to grant amnesty, in the same way, it is God's privilege to pardon an erring soul and exempt it from punishment.

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* Chitra and Gupt are not the divine accountants, but the conscious (Chit) and the unconscious (Gupt) parts of the mind. The Dharamraj is the God-nature or soul within us.

12

Ethics

Duty. Duty means the liability to do a thing or to carry out a certain order. Duty and command go together. When there is a command it is the duty of the person to whom a command is issued to carry it out. Law is a command. It is rule laid down for the guidance of a person by one who has power or control over him. There are two types of laws: laws of God, laws of man. The laws of God are called divine laws or laws of nature. It is the duty of man to obey both the kinds of laws. If he disobeys them, he will come to grief.

One's Duties

.(1) One must keep the body clean and pure because it is the temple of God. One must wear neat and clean clothes.

(2) One must not injure or disable the body in any way. *Yogis* try to hurt the body, regarding it as an act of merit. But by doing it, they rather fail in their duty of God.

(3) One must regard death as necessary for two reasons: firstly it is through death that the law of *Karma* is worked out; it is death which compels us to think of liberation and salvation. If there were no death, finer forms would be impossible. Secondly, the world be over-populted beyond imagination. Just think what will be the result?

(4) One should regard all suffering as a result of one's *Karma* and one should not blame God for it.

(5) One must follow the laws of health, because without health, one cannot make any advance on the spiritual plane.

(6) One should be temperate in food and drink. Temperance in food means, one should avoid appetisers spices and

things pleasing to the palate. Wine is forbidden by all great religions of the world. Guru Nanak says, "By drinking wine, one comes to grief."

(7) One must not remain idle. An idle brain is the devil's workshop. One must keep busy in some healthy pursuit.

(8) One must earn one's living and not be a parasite. If one does not work, one will be disliked by relatives and friends. Dependence on others, when one can earn one's way brings a sense of guilt and shame. Guru Nanak says, "Exert yourself to earn a living and share with others; this is the way to know the Truth."

(9) One must marry, if one cannot otherwise lead a chaste life. *Brahmacharya* is for those who can live up to its pledge. It is possible to follow *Brahmacharya* in married life. Continence helps in spiritual efforts.

(10) One must remain within a self-imposed discipline in order to help one's corporal and mental faculties.

(11) One must do one's duty to family-members, to the community, to the country and to humanity. We owe a duty to people, to deal with them with justice, honesty and truth.

(12) One must do one's duties to elders respect them and minister to their needs if possible, relieve their distresses and console them in their afflictions.

(13) One must do one's duties to equals by loving them, by showing them courtesy and consideration. One should set an example which may profitably be followed by others.

(14) One must do one's duties to one's inferiors by helping them and providing their wants if possible.

These duties are illustrative and do not exhaust the content of the whole objective of man.

Duties to others. One's superiors are the King (or the President), the boss, the parents, the teacher, and the aged. One must be loyal and faithful to the Head of the State and be ever ready to serve him. Patriotism and public service are the best forms of devotion to the country. One must respect and obey one's boss. Worldly wisdom requires that one must get on well with one's boss, because the latter

is in a position to make or mar one's career. One must be dutiful and obedient to one's parents and grateful to them for all help or advice. Likewise the teacher ought to be honoured and loved because he gives one the light of knowledge. One should respect and serve old men, and by doing so, one learns humility and wisdom from them.

With regard to one's equals, one must show them kindness, courtesy, hospitality and consideration. One must deal with them honestly, frankly and co-operatively. Character is built by fair dealing with one's equals.

One's inferiors may either be less evolved in spirituality, lower in social status or younger in age. Love and benevolence towards inferiors win respect and popularity. One must show them sympathy and compassion. One must offer one's strength to the weak and guide and protect them. If they are in want, one must give in charity or minister to their needs. With regard to the socially low, benevolence implies ameliorating their general condition and improving their economic position.

Good action. An action must be good not only in its object but also in its context and circumstances. It must also be good in its end or result. It must be done with a good intention or motive. If any of its concomitants is bad, the whole action becomes evil. The motive determines the goodness or otherwise of an act Prayer, service of the poor and the weak, and sacrifice for a noble cause are good actions. The Guru has laid down a test for all actions. If an action brings one nearer to God, it is good; if an action keeps one away from God, it is evil. We must make honest attempts to do good acts assiduously, just as we must exert our utmost to avoid evil in any shape or form. One must do what is right and good? That is the only way to happiness. Unless a man does the right thing in the right spirit, no amount of pious intention, lip-homage or out-ward formality will earn him the goal of salvation. Also an action done in a spirit of sacrifice or for the sake of charity, without entertaining any hope of reward is a good action.

Bad action. A bad action is either evil in its objects or evil in its circumstances or evil in its results, or is inspired by evil motives. An action otherwise innocent becomes bad if it contains one of these ingredients. A bad action gives prominence to the ego and unbecoming

human desire. Bad actions arise out of bad desires which in turn are due to bad thoughts. As a man thinks, so he becomes. People do not realise the need of good thoughts. They affirm that a bad thought is harmless if it does not lead to a bad action. This is a wrong notion. Serious efforts should be made to control the mind. Guru Nanak says, "One who conquers the mind can conquer the whole world."* One must avoid evil, idle or foolish thoughts. It is only when the mind is free from evil that good can enter it. Evil actions arise out of lust, anger, greed, desire and pride. There are certain other evil actions like lying, drinking, begging gambling, abusing and back-biting. Evil actions throw man into the cycle of birth and death.

Evil Company. Contact and association with men produce vital results. If you touch pitch, you will be defiled. Evil is infectious; it produces moral corruption and spiritual ill-health. Secondly, a vicious example is sooner followed than a good example. Evil thoughts and persons corrupt good men. A man is known by the company he keeps. If he associates with evil men, he will inevitably share their qualities. We will be called to account and asked to explain why we kept bad company? Shaikh Farid says, "The *Dharam Raja* will question you, if you associate with an evil person." Guru Nanak says:

He will repent who keeps,
The company of evil-doers;
To talk evil is to waste life.

Good Company. For spiritual progress, company of holy men is necessary. A saint gives divine knowledge, teaches purity through personal example, kindles the heart with universal love, removes the five great vices and tells the manner of remembering the Holy *Name.* In his presence, the disciple gets an inspiration. Psychologically, association of holy men acts as a deterrent against evil thoughts and evil deeds. The disciple regards all men as equals and friends. He follows the daily routine of his guide. Just as trees which grow near the sandal tree acquire the fragrance of the sandal, just as metals touched with the philosopher's stone are transmuted into gold, in the same way an average person becomes noble and spiritual in the company of a holy man. Lehna became Guru Angad in the company

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* Adi Granth, p. 7.

of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak says, "By associating with the holy and remembering God, even the fallen become purified." Kabir says, "According to the company one keeps, is the fruit one eats; keep the company of a good man, he will take care of you at the last." In all humility, Guru Nanak seeks the dust of the feet of holy men.* Just as pitch defiles and talc whitens, in the same way, holiness inspires virtue. Good comes from the good, evil from the evil. The evil of the individual is purged by the good, so to say by a divine spark, and good now advances to fill the void left by evil. Guru Arjan says, "The society of saints removeth all sins; the society of saints secures comforts in this world and next."

Eating of flesh. There is a controversy on this topic. The Guru neither advocates nor orbids the eating of flesh. Of course, Guru Gobind Singh prohibited the use of *Halal* meat jagged in the Muslim fashion. He permitted the Sikhs to take *Jhatka.* It is futile to debate on this question. Guru Nanak says:

> *Fools wrangle about eating meat,*
>
> *They know not the truth, or the way of right action,*
>
> *Or the difference between meat and vegetables, And acts which are sinful and those that are sinless,*
>
> *In flesh we are conceived, from flesh we are sinless,*
>
> *In flesh we are conceived, from flesh we are born;*
>
> *We are vessels of flesh.*** (A.G. p.7)

Mere absentinence cannot confer spiritual merit. It is said that when Shri Amardas went for the first time to Khandur to see Guru Angad, the latter offered him *dal* and bread, knowing the *vaishnave* tenets of Amardas. The latter saw other disciples taking meat in the *langar;* so making a break with his past, he tasted meat on a common platform with the *sangat.* Spirituality is not based on food or an item of the menu. No food is forbidden to a Sikh, except that which produces pain or evil Guru Nanak says, "Brother, that food, that pleasure is vain, which leades the mind to sin and makes the body writhe in pain."

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* Adi Granth: The company of saints is the school of the Guru where one learns the godly attributes.

** Macauliffe—The Sikh Religion, Vol. 1, p. 47.

Equally fruitless is the debating on the question of fish or eggs; whether they are vegetables or otherwise. A vegetarian and teetotaller avoiding meat and wine may yet be steeped in sin. So flesh-eating neither helps nor retards spiritual evolution.

Virtue. Virtue is the ability to do good. It means doing good actions in obedience to the commands of the Guru and for the sake of obtaining liberation (*Moksha*) from the cycle of birth and death. Virture includes improvement of oneself, because the progress of the individual ultimately leads to the goods of another help the progress of mankind. The virtue of the individual is not the mere concern of the individual. He is a member of the community and as such the concern of the group. If he is selfish, he affects others and remains indifferent to the welfare of others. So the practice of virtue has repercussions on the lot of the community. In this way the practice of individual virtue is a social responsibility.

The practice of virtue lies generally in following the golden mean. All extremes are evil. All virtue generally pertains to compromise between two poles. The virtue to temperance is a golden mean between gluttony on the one hand and abstinence on the other; fortitude is a compromise between fear and rashness. Excessive study confuses the mind, extremes frugality results in meanness. The practice of virtue implies finding a via-media between two extremes.

Virtue is conducive to the acquisition of happiness and contentment. Mortal man's lot is far from satisfactory. Even his best songs have a strain of sorrow. The afflictions of the body and the mind dog him at every step. Man is weak; his infirmities have been known to all great teachers and saints. Even if the individual is free from sorrows or sickness, those of others are bound to lessen his joys. Besides, there are so many things which are beyond one's control. Many times the unexpected happens much to the discomfiture of the individual. His hopes end infrustrations; his dreams are dashed to the ground; the glowing visions turn to dust. Not even the greatest and the noblest are free from disappointments, anxieties, pin-pricks, the 'slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.' In order to overcome such vexations and crosses, one must cultivate the virtues of patience, forbearance and resignation. If we do not cultivate them, we shall be

multiplying our sorrows and fears. Contentment is a cure of the world's many ills. Guru Arjan says, "Without contentment, no one gets true tranquillity of mind." *Nam* can cause the inner changes like the sun ripening fruits and crops.

Types of Virtue. Different religions recommend different virtues. There are five principal virtues: truth, contentment, self-control, patience, goodwill. Christianity exphasises four cardinal virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance. These virtues are regarded as important because all moral qualities hinge on them. Without them it is not possible to make any progress on the road to salvation. Virtues attract grace and bring the soul nearer to Divinity. The Sikh Gurus have through their lives demonstrated the value of such virtues for the attainment of bliss.

Sikh Virtues. Truth has the first place among virtues, because it is the very basis of spiritual evolution. Guru Nanak says, "Truth is a remedy of all ills and washes away all sins. Nanak humbly bows to those who possess the truth." Truth also stands for the Ultimate Reality. It is difficult to define truth and yet we all know what it means?* It includes righteousness, sincerity, honesty, uprightness, frankness, justice, impartiality, which give rise to trust and mutual respect. Truth stands on its own, it needs no props. It is as obvious as an axiom. Our conscience prompts us to speak the truth. A lie is a fabrication; one has to wrack one's brain in order to render it plausible. By telling a lie, we not only deceive others but also deceive ourselves. This produces moral corruption. Speak what you mean and perform what you promise? Do not try to be over-clever and explain away your lies. A lie helps in deceiving some one. A lie need not take the form of words. A lie may be implied by silence, by emphasis, by equivocation, by a glance of the eye or by a gesture by a false weight, coin, stamp, seal or mark. A plain and simple lie can be easily contradicted, but a lie, a part of which is true, is difficult to refute. An excuse or explanation is worse than a lie because it covers a lie with a mark or disguise. Half-truths are more dangerous than straight lies.

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* Bhai Gurdas: Devotion, penance, sacrificial fire, feasts, fasting, austerities, pilgrimages, alms-gifts, the service of gods and goddesses, ceremonies are all inferior to truth. Truth is a current cion, falsehood a counterfeit copper.

Guru Nanak told Bhumia the thief to desist from lying. He never prevented him from stealing, because he knew that the secret of reform lay in truth. There is a proverb: Falsehood shortens life. Perhaps the man who is deceived by a lie will curse the liar and this may effect his life. Ultimately truth is bound to be out: "Truth will prevail in the end."*

Contentment. Contentment lies in feeling satisfied with what one has. A contented man is free from envy, greed and jealousy. When one feels that one has not enough, he can gets consolation if he compares himself to another who has nothing. A one-eyed man must thank himself that he is not blind. Iz ac Walton, an English writer says, "Every misery that I miss is a new mercy." Every misery I overcome is a new gain for the growth of my soul. The ups and downs of life enrich one's character and experience. God has been kind enough to spare one from the afflictions of one's less fortunate brothers. Adversity is no punishment, because in poverty, there are few temptations and one turns to God. Adversity tests one's friends and virtues. Guru Nanak says, "Misery is a medicine; happiness is a disease." When one is prosperous, one forgets God, that is why prosperity is spiritually undesirable? The Christians emphasise the vow of voluntary poverty. The contented mind accomodates itself to every adverse change, be it poverty, distress, sickness or sorrow. It accepts these things with equanimity and cheerfulness. A discontented man multiplies his sorrows by comparing his lot with fortune's favourities. On the other hand, a contented mind is always full of gratitude and joy. Guru Arjan says, "Without contentment, it is impossible to acquire true peace of mind."

Self-Control. Self-control is necessary to kill foul desires. One has to wage a constant and ceaseless war against evil. Generally, vice raises its head in the mind and, therefore the mind should be controlled. Guru Teg Bahadur says, "The mind seeks evil, but with Guru's word, it can be controlled." The first thing is to keep the mind busy or occupied. When an evil thought comes, one should stand up in prayer and seek God's aid. Gandhiji in his book *Self-indulgence versus Self-control* recounts how he kept the vow of *Brahmacharya* with the help

* Guru Arjan: The seed of the testament of the Guru cannot germinate except in the field of ethical conduct, constantly irrigated by the waters of truth.

of prayer. Secondly, one must learn concentration. One should keep the mind fixed on some goal or ideal. One must not only control the thoughts but also check the desires of the will and the activities of the senses. Our organs of action (*Karam Indries*) should be kept away from mischief.

We must exercise control in passing hasty judgments. Never form an opinion without hearing the other side. God has given us two eyes so that we may see enough, two ears that we may hear both the sides of a matter, but one month so that we may speak as little as possible. The tongue is capable of inflicting serious wounds. When judging a man, put a charitable construction on his faults and give him the benefit of doubt. One must frequently examine and interrogate oneself. When you explore your inner self, you will find that you are not less sinful than others. It is always good to maintain a diary of one's actions and words, so that one may be able to correct oneself. Read your daily diary loudly to yourself at night. You will find that this will have a healthy and moral effect on you.

Patience. Patience means courage to bear bravely all trails for the love of God and to resist anything which hinders our salvation. God tests his devotees in various ways.* So one must be firm and steady in performing one's duty even if it be difficult and irksome. One must never give way to disappointment in the face of odds. The true devotee screws up his courage to the level of the test.

Thought shall be the keener, heart the harder,
Mind the stronger, as our might lessens.

To exercise forbearance when one is in a position to undo or punish one's opponent is a great quality. Guru Arjan Suffered all the tortures at the hands of Chandu, just to set an example of patience and sacrifice to his flock. The noble soul does not feel physical or mental pain. The mind is so trained that it remains tranquit and calm in the midst of adversity and pain. The seeker looks to the ideal and never falters or wavers in his pursuit of it. God in turn never forsakes those who suffer for the sake of His creation in selflessness and

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* Guru Amardas says. "There is no greater penance than patience no greater happiness than commetment, no greater evil then greed, no greater virtue than mercy and no more potent weapon than forgiveness.

singleness of purpose. The Sikh Gurus have shown great patience in the face of great provocations and tortures. Guru Arjan says, "Thy servant Nanak stands ready as a sacrifice, " and again, "What Thou givest, I treat as a blessing." The Sikh martyrs have also displayed exemplaiy forbearance in the face of death. They suffered for their faith with a smile on their lips and the *Holy Name* on their tongues.

Goodwill for all. The fatherhood of God implies the brotherhood of man. We are all members of the same family and must love one another. God loves all men and those who wish to love Him should love what He loves? Shaikh Farid says, "If you love God, injure not the heart of any person." Guru Govind Singh says, "You know that God abides in every heart and so it is your duty to treat every one with respect." The test of one's love of God is the measure of ones love for His creation. Even the poor ought to be treated well. Just as the heart of a parent leans to a helpless child on account of his helplessness, so God favours those who love the poor and respect them. Goodwill also implies kindness for animals, birds and insects. The Sikhs treat kindly all creatures because they are the creation of the Almighty. In the daily prayer (*Ardas*), the Sikh seeks the good of all (*Sarbat Ka Bhala*).

Courage. Humility and tolerance do not imply that the individual should make compromises with his principles. One should have the courage of one's convictions. Guru Gobind Singh combined *Bhagti* with *Shakti.* Without courage, the Sikhs would be at the mercy of any tyrant or dictator. The purpose behind the creation of the Khalsa was to enrol a band of saint soldiers who may even die in their stand against oppression. The true Sikh must speak out against injustice, corruption and high-handedness and not be cowed down by threats or temptations. It is his *Dharma* to do the right and face the consequences. Bhai Mansukh, Guru Nanak's disciple in Ceylon, showed his guts in refusing to obey the king's command of compulsory fast. Ultimately, he succeeded in converting the king to his own way of thinking. This kind of courage is next only to martyrdom. Its adds to one's moral stature and helps in spiritual evolution. Guru Gobind Singh inculcated this trait among the Sikhs by challenging the might of Aurangzeb in spite of heavy odds. He writes,

'O God! Grant me this boon
Never to keep away from good deeds,
Nor feel afraid when facing misfortunes,
Rather with firm resolve, have hope of success.

Sin. Different religions define sin in different ways.* Christianity regards it as a-moral fault. There are seven capital sins in Christianity: Pride, Covetousness, Lust, Anger, Gluttony, Envy and Sloth. Sikhism regards sin as wilful disobedience of the Laws of God. Guru Nanak says, "We sin when we fail to follow the divine law of love. We sin when we trespass on the rights of others for our selfish ends, when we cause any harm." Sin is committed either by neglecting what is enjoined or doing what is forbidden? A deed done from a sense of duty or by mistaken notion of it does not affect the moral nature of the individual. It has, however to be atoned for through suffering, but it does not degrade the character of the individual.

In order to avoid vice, we should have knowledge of the vice itself, a realisation that it is wrong to do it and finally the will to overcome it or sublimate it. The vices differ insofar as they pertain to different social levels. The vices towards one's superiors takes the form of anger or wrath, those towards inferiors take the form of hate or ill-treatment. Real repentence frees a man from sin.

The Five Vices. According to Sikhism, the cardinal vices are five: Lust (*Kam*), Anger (*Karodh*), Greed (*Lobh*), Worldly Love (*Moh*), Pride (*Ahankar*). These are regarded as the five arch enemies of man. They pull him down and lead him to the cycle of birth and death. Guru Nanak dilates on these sins thus: "pleasure of gold, the pleasure of silver, the pleasure of women and the scent of perfume, the pleasure of horses, the pleasure of the couch and palace, the pleasure of sweets, the pleasure of the body, how can the True Name find a dwelling in the heart?" The body clings to the pleasures of the senses. Man regards these illusory joys as enduring things. This illusion is responsible for sorrow and suffering. This intoxication brings the infatuation of desire, anger and egoism. So long as man remains a slave of passions and

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* S. Radhakrishnan: Sin is not the violation of a law or a convention but the central source of all finiteness, ignorance, assertion of the independence of the ego, which seeks its own private gain at the expense of others.

desires, he remains confined in the sphere of worldiness. He may shift the fault to others, but it is he who brings sorrow and mischief to himself. Escape is possible only when Reality dawns on him.

Lust. Lust is the desire for gratification of sexual appetite. Normal sexual pleasure with one's wife is not forbidden. What is forbidden is excessive indulgence in it which is harmful to the individual? Lust leads to immodesty and vulgarity in words and deeds. Lust in thought and word is not an offence under the Indian Penal Code. Lust is a grave sin and produces nothing but shame and misery. Guru Arjan says, "O Lust, you lead to hell and to the cycle of birth and death."

Lust can be avoided if the mind rejects an unholy thought. *Brahmacharya* as understood by ancient sages and *rishis* meant purity in thought, word and deed. The control of sexual appetite is possible in married life. Guru Gobind Singh says, "Increase love with your wife but never dream of another man's wife." It is necessary to keep the mind engaged in some healthy pursuit. One should think more of social and noble accomplishments of women than of their physical charms and blandishments. There are some games and pursuits which encourage this vice, as for example, gambling, drinking, reading pornographic literature, seeing made dances and pictures which excite passion. Finally, one must seek God's help in overcoming this vice. Pray to the Almighty to keep you pure in through, would and deed.

Anger. Anger is excitement of the mind due to some insult of slight or supposed injury. Anger leads to quarrels, violence and sometimes to murder. It produces hatred, revenge, ill-temper harshness, oppression, cruelty, foul language, scorn and peevishness. Guru Arjan says:

> *Wrath pitiless, and seed of strife*
> *You conquer even the great,*
> *And they dance like monkeys.*

Anger can be controlled by the exercise of patience, humility and love. Never brood over wrongs nor make schemes of revenge. Just wait for sometime. Time is a great healer. Wrath is conquered by foregiveness and friendliness. Hatred cannot be conquered by hatred; it can be conquered only by love. Great teachers like Christ and

Buddha have dwelt on the value of love and forgiveness. Return good for evil and you will surely win over your worst enemy. Do not cause pain to others. Look at the earth. You dig it up, and in turn, it gives you metals and previous stones. Kabir says, "People cast stones at the cherry-tree and in turn it gives forth sweet cherries."

God dwells in every human heart. So use no harsh words towards any one, for after all these words hurt the God within man. Commit no aggression or wrong; cause no affliction to others: "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you." This is the code of conduct.

Avarice. Avarice is desire for money or love of gain. Riches have no merit in the eyes of God. They are of no use in ensuring life, health and freedom from pain. Guru Nanak says, "The root of suffering is evil—the greed of self which burns life in unquenched fire; the more it is fed, the stronger its flames rise. People do not give it up and so the root of suffering remains and men like die in search of the sweets of life."

Avarice leads to fraud, lying, treachery, dishonesty, breach of trust, gluttony, sloth and callousness. It disturbs the mind and causes unhappiness to others. A greedy man can never be contented even if he gets all that he wants. Our wants are many, while our real needs are few. Much wants more; the hoarding and accumulation of wealth is just a blind passion. Guru Arjan says, "O evil covetousness, it has no respect for friends or friends or relations." A greedy man is out to bleed his nearest and dearest ones, and shows no consideration for his kith and kin.

Avarice can be conquered by contentment. Of course, frugality should be practised as far as possible, but peace of mind can come only through minimisation of wants. Do not think only in terms of money; life is something greater than money. Be generous and liberal, and remember that wealth is a trust. Joy lies in giving and not receiving gifts. there is a proverb. "What I spent, I had? What I saved, I lost. What I gave, I have." After all we have to leave our wealth and property at the time of death. Guru Nanak cured Lala Dunichand of the malady of covetousness by asking him to accept a deposit of a needle to be returned in the next world. Lala Dunichand then realised

the folly of hoarding wealth. Moreover, money or property is ■ source of anxiety and trouble. One becomes a slave of money and not its master. Excessive wealth creates desire for luxury and vice which ultimately lead to sorrow.

Attachment. Excessive love of worldly objects is called attachment-*moh.* It may take the form of self-love, love of wife and children, love of physical joys, love of easy life or love of worldly possessions. Excessive love will make one indifferent to duty. Fondness for any pleasure or enjoyment will make one neglect God. Guru Nanak says:

The love of family is born of attachment to self.
Abandon attachment, it is replete with darkness.
O, brother, wave off the delusion of attachment and doubt.

The cure of worldly love lies in the practice or renunciation. Regard you near and dear ones as objects of trust. They cannot be yours for long. Do not be attached to them. Self-assertion is the disease, self-surrender the cure. Guru Arjan says, "The man who loves a passing traveller merely wastes his time." Worldly objects are like passing shadows, they change or pass and, therefore should not be clung to. They are unreal. He alone is the Real.

Pride. Pride is the blackest and the vilest of the five vices. Pride implies excessive conceit or self-esteem. Pride always leads to a spiritual fall. Look at Joga Singh: what a faithful and devoted Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh! He responded to Guru's call and left his own marriage uncompleted. Yet, he was caught by the charms of a loose woman. It was pride which led him to a house of ill-fame. He was fortunately saved from a spiritual fall by the grace of Guru Gobind Singh. Bhai Gurdas had to suffer for his pride. The proud man feels that others must hold as high an opinion of him as he holds of himself.

Pride takes different forms. It may be sheer vanity or arrogance; it may be irritability or touchiness, it may be boast ■r bluster, it may be boast or bluster, it may be ambition or selfishness. It may be envy, jealousy or contempt of others, pride of dress, tastes, talents and qualifications. Pride is the root of egoism which shuts out self-knowledge and salvation. Guru Angad says, "It is the ego which ties man down to the world and sends him on a round of birth." Guru

Amardas says, "Vanity is the root of all evils." Guru Arjan says, "O sinful pride, cause of transmigration, you make people abondon friends and hold fast unto enemies."

The vain and the arrogant deny the existence of God. They challenge their worldly superiors and plot against them. They show disrespect to or hatred for others because they think that nobody can equal them in ability or power.

The cure for pride lies in practising the virtue of humility. This enables us to take our right place in the world. We begin to realise that there are other people who are better or abler than us. We should neither despise our superiors nor run down our inferiors. We should treat everyone with modesty and consideration. We can learn humility from saints and Gurus. When old Guru Amardas was kicked by Datu, he never showed any resentment but humbly remarked that his hard bones must have hurt Datu's feel. Humility is the priceless possession of saints. Kabir says. "It is possible to give up wealth, but it is hard to abondon pride." The renunciation of egoism leads to merger with the Divine.

Humility and forgiveness go together. If anyone offends you, do not bear illwill to him Forgive him and thus show your telerance. Kabir says:

Where the virtue of forgiveness prevails
There the Lord Himself resides!

Allied to humility is compassion. It is an outcome of the belief in the light of God shining in every soul. Shaikh Farid says:

Rebuke not anyone, the True Lord resides in all.
Hurt not anyone, precious are the souls of all!

13

Practical Religion

Paths of spirituality. There are two sides to every religion, one philosophical (*Sidhanta*) and the other practical (*Sadhana*). The theoretical side explains the nature of God, universe and man. The practical path (*Sadhana*) indicates the mode of life which a man should lead for spiritual evolution. There are three kinds of the practical paths: *Karam Yoga, Gyan Yoga, Bhagti Yoga.*

The *Karam Yoga* is based on the theory that some action must be performed to please God.* This action may be either positive or negative, doing certain things and omitting to do certain others. The pleasure of the deity is obtained by offering, say an animal or by a human action. Religion then becomes a sort of sacrificial ritual. There are certain other actions which are also regarded as essential, as for instrance daily bath, prayer at particular 'times (Sandhya). As against *Karam Yoga*, the *Sannyasi* offers asceticism. Action is bondage and daily routine is sin. He believes in suppression of activities. This, he thinks, leads to purification of the individual.

The *Gyan Yoga* implies the realisation of God through knowledge.** We must know the personal self and the Universal Self; from lower knowledge, we gradually go up to higher knowledge. We must put in the intellectual effort to understand philosophic truths.

The *Bhagti Yoga* implies the religion of love. But even this love of God ends in observances and ceremonies. The devotee worships

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* Sankara says, 'Liberation is accomplished by wisdom, but wisdom does not spring without the purification of the heart.'

** S. Radhakrishnan: The Gita is a mandate for action. It explains what a man ought to do, not merely as a social being buy as an individual with a spirit destiny. (Bhagvadgita, p. 66)

the Lord, who is separate from the worshipper. Some saints or mystics practised a sort of inspired modness.

This implies realisation of God through emotional experience. Love and worship are of serving Him.

These systems are likely to have a reverse effect on account of weaknesses of their own. *Karam Yoga* leads to ostentation and hypocrisy, action for the sake of action, without any feeling. Ritual does not purify the heart or elevate the character of the worshipper. Action leads to egoism and the chain-reaction of effects. Moreover, by inflicting pain on the body, the heart cannot get purified; fasting does not bring man nearer to God. *Gyan Yoga* leads to extreme intellectualism and hair-splitting. *Bhagti Marg* leads to extreme emotionalism and to the feeling that God the worshipped is different from man the worshipper. Moreover, Bhagti leads to lip-worship, mechanical repetition of certain *mantras* Bhagti often implies vegetarianism, non-violence and frustration.

The Guru insisted on a worldly life. Renounce worldliness and attachment and not the household. Life is a struggle against infinite odds. Action is necessary, but it must be done without attachment and in a spirit of dedication. The strength of the devotee lies in overcoming obstacles and not in running away from them. The man of God has courage and patience to face worldly trials with equanimity and balance.

Service Servive is free natural offshoot of the love of God. 'Love me, love my dog' is a popular proverb. So if you love God, you love His creation too. The Love of one's fellow-men is exemplified by acts of service. So service of humanity is a practical way in which the devotee expresses his love for God. Moreover, service shows the oneness of life. God is present in every being and in everything. A God-conscious man serves another because he sees God in him. Just as God Himself is devoted to ministering to the needs of His creation, in the same way the true Sikh devotes himself physically, mentally and conscientiously to the service of the people. The poor, the suffering, the downtrodden stand in dire need of help.

Moreover, service purges man of evil qualities. Guru Arjan says, 'The servant of God is free from the evils of pride, attachment and

greed, because he finds God in all'. Selfless service kills the ego. By service, humility and self-surrender are strengthened. The Gurus led a life of devoted service. Guru Arjan served the *Sangat* by fanning them in the hot season. *Langar* is another type of service. Bhai Lehna won the affection of Guru Nanak by selfless service.

Viewed from another angle, service is a kind of adoration of the almighty. The best service is the submission to the Will of God—to take all that comes from Him with equanimity and sweetness, Guru Arjan says:

> By accepting and realising His Will.
> True happiness is attained.

To live in harmony with the Divine will brings everlasting peace. When we come to know His Will, there is no egoism. The Gurus recommended service as a lesson in humility and seflessness. So service is a means to an end, namely the development of spiritual life ultimately leading to the realisation of God.

*Nam.** The Guru's path may be called *Nam Marg or Sahaj Yoga.* Guru Nanak explains it thus:

> Fill the mind with the word of the Guru,
> Put on the garments of forgivess,
> Submit to the will of God,
> Unmoved by pleasure and pain,
> Thus the treasures of
> Sahaj Yoga are gathered.**

There is nothing in the world to compare with *Nam.* Guru Nanak says, "If I utter *Nam,* I live; if not, I die." The praise of *Nam* is found in the first canto of the *Sukhmani.* Life without *Nam* is barren and meaningless. The obstacles to the Name are worldly thoughts, sleep and desire for occult powers. This *Nam* reveals the presence of God both in man and the universe. *Nam* performs three functions; it is purgative, that is, it removes our evils; it is illuminitive, it gives us

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* The word *Nam* is derived from the *Sanskrit Names* which means practice of rememberences.

** The state of *Sahaj* means epuipoise. In this sage, there is natural and spontaneous realisation of God.

the knowledge of Truth, Goodness and Beauty; it is unitive, that is, it brings about a merger of the individual into the supreme. Guru Arjan says:

> The praising of the Name is the highest of all practices
> It has uplifted many souls,
> It slakes the desire of the restless mind
> And it imparts an all—seeing vision.
>
> (Sukhmani, 1, 4)

Some theologians think that *Nam* consists in the repetition of God's *Name.* The divine name has a great potency. This is born out by lives of many saints. According to the Sikh religion. mere lip-repetition of certain names is not *Nam.** The Guru denounced the rosary as sheer hypocrisy. What is the fun of uttering some *mantra* on the beads when the mind is wandering? *Nam or Simaran* cannot be defined, but we can know its concomitants,** *Nam* produces *Wismad,* a feeling of wonder at God and His works. In this stage all inner resentments and rebellions are overcome and the emotions are spiritualised. This is an emotional and psychic experience. It is an aesthetic appreciation of God's beautiful creation. God is the beautiful gardener and the world is a fine garden. The charm, the colour and the music of Nature arouse the feeling of *Wismad.* Then the devotee thanks God for such wonders. The whole world becomes an emanation of the Pure, the Good and the Beautiful. This experience of wonder can neither be defined nor explained. It is the experience of the aesthetic side of man bringing him close to the Power behind all such experience. The mundane artist divides things into the beautiful and

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* Repetition of a formula or catch-word is not *Nam;* it is concentration on the meaning of a hymn or some idea about spiritual evolution. The *Name* has a special meaning in a particular context. If in a hymn, fear of death is depicted, the Name in that context means fearlessness; if in another hymn, greed is depicted, the Name there means charity or non-attachment to worldly possessions.

The Guru's word must sink into the soul and turn the habitual tide of the mind so that the soul experiences the nature of God within one's emotional self.

** *Nam* has a number of meanings. It stands for meditation on the Name or Word. It also means the all pervading spirit.

the ugly. The *Nami* knows no such distinctions. All things are bright and beautiful. This feeling finds utterance in *Waheguru* (The Wonderful Lord).

S. Teja Singh writes, "To practise *Nam* means to practise the presence of God by keeping Him ever in our minds by singing His praises or dwelling on His excellences." This attitude is to be permanent. The *Wismadi* is one with the Lord. He is busy in wordly things and yet his mind is centred on *Nam*. The taste of the pudding lies in the eating, and not in the cookery-book. This statte of inner peace comes with God's grace.

The Guru's *Nam Marg* also includes doing honest labour (*Kirt Karna*) and sharing one's earnings with others (*Wand Chhakna*), leading to individual and social welfare. So it is a complete design for living. Parasitism is not only anti-social but also anti-religious.

Love of the Name. Perfection or salvation is the goal of man's life. How can one the Perfect One? Guru Nanak says:

In the blessed hours of the morn,
Meditate on the grace of the True Name.
For, your good action may procure
For you a better birth.
But liberation comes from Grace alone.

How can one practise the Name? God is a Being who is capable of being loved and who is present in His creation; God dwells within man like fragrance in a flower. The way to know Him is to love Him. To love Him, one must love His creation, admire His wonders and meditate on His Name. One can serve God, by serving one's fellowmen. So true worship consists in doing good actions both for benefit of one-self and other people. It means that it is possible for a worldly householder to merge with the Divine by following the Guru's word. The Guru says that it is easy for a man to cross the tempestuous ocean of the world by making God's Name the boat and putting the *Word* as the helmsman.

The Technique of the Name. Over and over again, the importance of the *Nam* or the *Word* is emphasissed in the Sikh scriptures. The taste of the pudding lies in the eating and not in the cookery-book. The state of inner peace which the Remembrance of

the Name brings is known only to evolved souls. However, in *Guru Granth Sahib*, the Sikh Gurus have given some hints on the technique of the Name. This is a process of spiritual development attained with divine grace. Let us consider some of the important implications of *Simaran*—the art of the Remembrance of God.

(a) Lip Repetition

Like a child learning the alphabet by rote, the beginner must start with repetition of the Sikh mantra—*Waheguru,** by vocal utterance. Guru Nanak regards this as the first step. He says:

> Repetition of the Name by the tongue,
> Will eventually produce the nectar!**

(b) Percolation into the Mind

Concentration of the mind on the Name is quite important. In the beginning, the mind will wander away from the Name. By and by and with constant effort, the mind will learn to fix itself on the Name, which will gradually percolate into the inner consciousness or what we now call the subconscious. Guru Nanak says:

> 'The name will percolate within the heart and give it a feeling of stability.'
>
> 'The name of God is the real alchemic elixir,
> The Lord pulls us out of the mire with his own hands,
> Catching hold of our arms, he fills all breaches for us.'
> 'In this heart's garden, plant like Seeds,
> The Word of Guru
> And water thy garden with love
> And all thy orchards shall bear the precious
> fruitage of the Holy name of God.
> 'Within your own body is the true pool of Immortality,
> Let your mind drink the nectar there.

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* *Waheguru* means, Hail the Holy light, dispeller of darkness. It stands for the wonderful Lord—God and His creation.

** The benefit of Lip-Repetition is limited. Guru Arjan says, 'Men repeat the Name of God with their lips, but bliss comes when it fills their hearts.'

The Divine Name flowers only in a healthy soil. It can stay in the mind, if the mind is clean and spotless. The conscious meditation is called *Dhyan* or concentration. The object of concentraits neither an image nor any physical being. It is the Abstract, Timeless, Eternal God.

(c) Longing

Just as a lover waits patiently for a glance at his beloved, the devotee longs intensely for the divine vision. For the Guru, remembrance is life, forgetfulness is death. Guru Nanak says:

'If I remember him, I live. If I forget him, I die.' Just as the fish cannot live without water, the devotee cannot live without the Lord. Guru Nanak says:

> 'Listen my heart: Love God ceaselessly
> As the fish loveth water:
> The deeper the water,
> The happier and more tranquil the fish.*
> 'This is the greatest sickness of the soul
> To forget even for a second, the Beloved.**

Man is compared to a woman waiting for the pleasure of her husband.

> The Lord is the spouse who on His Couch
> enjoyeth the love of the devotee.***

Total self-surrender eliminates the spirit of egoism—*haumai*. The Name like the moon reflected in the water, brightens the inner spirit of man.

> O, Nanak! Their faces are radiant
> And in their hearts is joy
> Born of the music of his Word.

(d) Seeing God Everywhere

With his consciousness brightened by God's vision, the devotees see him here, there and everywhere.

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* *Adi Granth*, p. 59.

** *Ibid.*, p. 21.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 2.

'God is beyond the Vedas, the Holy Books,
Nanak's God is actually visible.'

God is seen in His creation. The anchorite gets the *third penetrating eye*. He sees through the semblances the reality within. He sees God in animals, vegetables and even stones.* Many *Bhagats* evolved from idol-worship to a realisation of the Unborn and the Timeless. Then the devotee feels that God is with him and he need not wander to holy places or consecrated spots.

Guru Ramdas says:

'I search for the Friend,
But my Friend is always with me.'

(e) The Merger

The goal of the Remembrance of the Name is merger of the individual soul in the Universal soul. The sense of duality vanishes and man feels in tune with the primeval source.

Guru Ramdas says:

The Lord's chosen are absorbed in the Lord's Name.
The pain of birth and fear of death are lost.
They have attained the Imperishable Lord.
Great honour is theirs in all regions.

This is the state of living immortality-*Jivan Mukt*. Such a man is free from the cycle of birth and death and is merged in the Infinite.

(f) Precautions

Just as medicine does not prove effective unless diet is controlled, in the same way *Nam* does not show its results without taking positive steps to make it grow in a congenial atmosphere. The best time to practise the discipline of the Name is early dawn. Guru Nanak says in the *Japji*.

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* The Sikh will become conscious of the working of God in all aspects of his life; the consciousness of His Presence will eventually become natural to him, so that even in the midst of pleasure or pain or all the activities of life, he will be aware of the goodness of God and the manifold blessings with which He endows the creatures of His Creation. (P. Wylam: An Introduction to Sikh Belief, p. 3).

In the embrosial hours of the dawn,
Repeat the True Name, and meditate on His Greatness.

This does not mean that during the other hours of the day, the Name is to be neglected. The Guru's commandment is that the Sikh must concentrate on the Name even while standing, walking or working.

The discipline of the Name is an uphill task. Many times, the mind wanders off in different directions. The devotee must bring his mind back to the Remembrance of the Name. Idleness and attachment are the two main hurdles in the constant meditation on the Name. The company of holy men or Sat Sang is an incentive to a career of devotion. Guru Arjan says in *Sukhmani:*

He who taketh refuge at the feel of saints,
Hath entered on the path of salvation.

It is essential that the life of a devotee should be simple and exemplary. Therefore, he should remove the evil desires and try to do good actions. Guru Nanak says:

God grants salvation through good

works and uprightness of conduct.

On the other hand, mere performance of good deeds leads nowhere, because it may produce or strengthen the sense of egoism in man. Good deeds in Sikhism take the from of acts of service (*Sewa*). Service frees man from pride, attachment and greed and teaches him now to submit to the will of God. The cultivation of virtue requires positive effort. With a high sense of morality, the devotee can be a model for others to follow. Just as a man sitting in the sun does not feel cold, the devotee under the protection of the Name does not feel the touch of the five cardinal sins. The sun is far away but His Name, which gives us solace and joy is with us.

The true remembrance of the *Name* is a three-fold activity meditation with words, mind and actions. Sweet words, a pure mind an noble deeds translate the Name into a living Reality. But all this is possible only through divine grace. The devotee must solicit His aid in his spiritual endeavour. Guru Nanak says:

If it pleases God, man crosses the terrible ocean.

Grace comes to those who deserve it. The meditation leads to an ecstatic state when the individual loses himself in Divinity:

> The self is merged in the greater self.
> The little self is lost to view,
> And is merged in boundles bliess,
> It rises above self-consciousness.
> No feeling there of I-am-ness
> Nor of heaven, nor of earth.
> Oneness only with the One
> Wedlock of the Soul and God.

Guru Arjan describes the final stage of the devotee thus.

> "As water mingles with water
> So the light merges in the light."

The Routine. Guru Ramdas has laid down the routine of the true Sikh. Let a true Sikh get up early in the morning and after bathing, meditate on the Divine Name. Let him, with all concentration, repeat the Name till sunrise. This will remove all his worries and sorrows. "Then let him go about his daily work to earn his honest bread. The Sikh who repeats the Name incessantly is loved by the Guru. The Guru seeks the dust of the feet of the Sikh who remembers God's name and persuades others to repeat the Name."*

Guru Amardas gave the following hints when requested by Bhai Budha to detail the rules of daily conduct. Let the Sikh "serve good people and not touch money belonging to others. Let him share his joys and sorrows with his neighbours. Let him eat only when he is hungry and sleep when he feels sleepy. Let him, above all, not neglect the true Name. Let him resign himself to the will of God and never find fault with the doings of his Creater. Let him not entertain lust, anger or greed. Let him not parade his goodness. Let him never give up repetition of the Name, charity and personal cleanliness. Let him keep aloof from calumny of God and the Guru. Nothing can excel the company of the Guru and devotion to God. Let him would his conduct according to the Guru's words."

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* Adi Granth, p. 305.

Uplift of woman. The Gurus held woman in high esteem. So with the rise of Sikhism, woman gained in dignity and social position. Some ancient scriptures denounced woman as unworthy of teaching or religious exercises. Woman was regarded as evil and unclean. Guru Nanak challenged this view: Why should we treat woman with contempt and cruelty? A woman is not to be condemned on the ground of her sex.* Woman is the equal of man in the estimation of evolved beings. So Sikhism conferred religious rights on woman. Religious gatherings and *Kirtan* were thrown open to women; they could participate on equal terms with men in temporal and secular observances. Bhai Gurdas, the veteran Sikh theologian affirmed: "Woman is man's other half, and as such, helps him in attaining to salvation." Guru Hargobind called woman "the conscience of man." Sikh baptism (*Amrit*) is obligatory both for man and woman. The rules of conduct and the sphere of religious duties are identical both for man and woman. In religious meetings, men and women sing lecture like equals.

Guru Amardas condemned the practice of widow-burning (*Sati*): He said, "They are not *Satis* who burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands. Those are real *Satis* who die of the mere shock of separation from their husbands." So the equality of sexes emphasised by Sikhism led to amelioration of the lot of woman. Men began to defend women's honour. Women also realised their important place in society and often stood up against tyranny and humiliation. The Stories of *Sundri* and *Satwant Kaur* written by Bhai Vir Singh show the way in which Sikh women were respectedly treated by the Khalsa Panth.

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* Adi Granth:

Of a woman we are conceived,
Of a woman we are born,
To a woman we are betrothed and married,
It is a woman who is a friend and partner of life.
It is a woman who keeps the race going.
Why should we consider women cursed and condemned,
When from woman are born leaders and rulers.

(Rag Asa,I)

14

Guru Granth Sahib

Compilation of Guru Granth. Guru Arjan gave a central place of worship to the Sikhs in *Harmander Sahib.* What now he wanted was a scripture for the Sikhs? So he collected from Bhai Mohan, the son of Guru Amar Das, the hymns of the first three Gurus and some *Bhagats,* and added to them the compositions of his father Guru Ramdas, and his own. He got the *Adi Granth* written by Bhai Gurdas. Guru Arjan gave the copy to Bhai Bano for binding. He took it for binding to Lahore and on the way prepared a copy. This is known as Bhai Bano's copy. Guru Arjan got the original after binding. He installed the Holy Book at *Harmander* in 1604. Baba Buddha was appointed as its first *Granthi* or keeper. This copy passed into custody of Bhai Dhirmal, son of Guru Hargobind, who refused to give it to the Guru. Subsequently some Sikhs brought this copy to the ninth Guru who returned it to Dhirmal. It is said that Guru Gobind Singh stayed at Damdama Sahib for nine months in 1706 and dictated the whole *Adi Granth* to Bhai Mani Singh. Undoubtedly, the Guru expunged certain unauthorised pieces which had crept into some pirated copies and gave it a final form.

But according to S. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, there was a copy of the Adi Granth at Dacca dated 1675. Another copy of the Granth was found at Patna in 1691 which contains the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur at proper places.* But it must be noted that it was on the copy prepared at Damdama Sahib that the Gurudom was bestowed in 1708.**

* G.B. Singh in his "Sri Guru Granth Sahib Deean Prachin Beeran" in Panjabi enumerates 30 different copies of the Adi Granth.

** Arnold Toynbee: The Adi Granth is the Sikh's perpetual Guru (spiritual guide).

Gurubani and Bhagatbani. The major principle of compliation was that verses which praised God and denounced superstition and caste were to be included in the Holy Book. As regards the compositions of *Bhagats,* generally the same principle was observed. Guru Arjan included the verses of those who believed in the unity of God and brotherhood of man. He rejected the compositions of four religious men of Lahore: Kahna, Chhaju, Shap Hussain and Pilo. Kahna's mystical idealism did not suit the Guru. Kahna recited the following verse:

I am He, I am He,
Sung by Vedas and Puranas
Whom none have found yet by search.

Chhajju's poem denounced woman as the root of all evil:

Look not upon a woman
Not even on her figure cut from paper,
women are like sly, Baluchi raiders,
Who carry off their men to slay them.

This poem was contrary to Guru Arjan's view on the nobility of woman and hence rejected.

Shah Hussain submitted a queer poem:

Be silent, oh, be silent!
What need, my friend for speaking?
There is no need for speaking.

The principle of ascetic silence was opposed to the Guru's creed.

Pilo's rank pessimism was equally hostile to the Guru's faith:

Those who have died at birth
Are better off by far than we.

Guru Arjan could not help rejecting such a verse. The Granth Sahib was to be broadbased. It could contain with itself principles of monotheism and the *Bhagti* cult. No puristic or linguistic tests were applied to the compositions. Foreign words, coined words and current words were put into this literary dish. In selecting the musical scores—*Ragas,* the Guru rejected melodies which were expressive of excessive exuberance or unmitigated sadness. Likewise, the Guru employed

homely and simple metaphors. Generally speaking, hymns of devotion, the glory of God, men's spiritual efforts and equality of men and women were incorported in the Holy Book.

The Contents. The Granth Sahib also called Adi Granth contains compositions of the first-five Gurus the ninth Guru, fifteen Bhagats (Jai Dev, Nam Dev, Trilochan, Parmanand, Sadna, Ramanand, Beni, Dhanna, Pipa, Sain, Kabir, Ravidas, Farid, Surday, Bhikhan) and eleven Bhattas (Mathra, Jalap, Harbans, Talya, Salya, Bhal, Kulh Sahar, Nal, Kirat, Gayand, Sadrang).*

Guru Granth contains 5894 hymns. The number of stanzas according to Pincott is 15575. 974 hymns are written by the first Guru, 62 by the second Guru, 907 by the third, 679 by the fourth, 2218 by the fifth, and 115 by the ninth. Among the remaining 922 hymns of Bhagats, the highest number of hymns (541) is by Kabir.

Music forms the basis of the classification of the hymns. Under each *Rag*, the hymns are arranged in the following order:

1. Chaupadas—hymns of four verses.
2. Ashtapadas—hymns of eight verses.
3. Long poems.
4. Chhants—Verses of six lines.
5. Short poems
6. *Vars* consisting of two or more *Saloks* and a *Pauri*.
7. Poems of *Bhagats* in the same order.

The hymns are further classified according to the musical *clef* (*Ghar*) in which each is to be sung. Although according to the index of *Ragas* in *Ragmala*, the total number of Ragas and Raginis is 84, the Guru has used only 31. So the Granth is arranged firstly according to the Raga, secondly, according to the nature or metre of the poem, thirdly authorship, and fourthly the clef. The ordinary edition of *Adi Granth* contains 1430 pages as under:

1. Japji—pp. 1-7.
2. Musical hymns—pp. 8-1351.

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* C.P. Rama Swami Aiyer: The Sikh scripture is the only book in the world where the teachings of otherwise men are given, side by side with those of the Gurus.

3. Salok Sanskriti—pp. 1352-59.
4. Gatha—pp. 1359-61.
5. Funhe—pp. 1361-64.
6. Chaubole—pp. 1363-64.
7. Saloks of Kabir and Farid—pp. 1364-84.
8. Swayyas of the Gurus and the Bhattas—pp. 1384-08.
9. Saloks of the Gurus—pp. 1409-28.
10. Rag Mala, index of musical measures—pp. 1429-30.

Characteristics of Adi Granth. At the end, Guru Arjan Dev has summed up the nature of the Holy Book in *Munda-wani;*

"In this dish are placed three things: Truth, Contentment and Wisdom. There are seasoned with the Name of God which is the basis of all; whoever, eats and enjoy it, shall be saved."

Guru Arjan's aim was to provide a book of universal religion, for everybody, everywhere.* He wanted to guide and regenerate all types of men. He says:

"It is a thing which you cannot afford to neglect.

You must take it to your hearts."

The Adi Granth is both metaphysics and ethics, the science of reality and the art of union with Reality. It gives us a vision of truth, and it opens up new paths for the mind of man.

It is a work of divine inspiration, primarily spiritual and incidentally philosophical. It is a collection of devotional poems and prayers. Miss Charlotte Mary Tucker called it, 'the book of yearning.' The Gurus accept certain fundamentals laws like *Karma,* cycle of birth and death, Maya etcetera. Guru Arjan incorporated the hymns of some Bhagats who subscribed to the unity of God and the cult of Bhagti. Such hymns enshrine the essence of four centuries (thirteenth to sixteenth) of Indian thought in simple but telling words. Moreover the verses are set to appropriate musical scores.

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* Puran Singh: Guru Granth is the scripture of all nations, for it is the lyric of divine love, and all the people of the earth subsist on such glowing lyrical prayer. Guru Granth is but one Song, one Idea and one Life.

(Spirit of Oriental Poetry)

The *Adi Granth* is an authentic scripture. The compositions of the Sikh Gurus were preserved, and subsequently collected by Guru Arjan. When the original copy (which is now at Kartarpur) could not he obtained. Guru Gobind Singh dictated it to Bhai Mani Singh. There are no spurious or extraneous poems in it. It is, therefore a unique treasure, a noble present to all mankind.*

Adoration of the Granth. The *Adi Granth* is the Sikh Bible. Guru Arjan who compiled it installed it with all reverence and devotion at *Harmandar* at Amritsar in 1604. He emphasised the importance of the Granth in the following poem:

> The race of man is saved!
> God's word goes to the people, blessing them
> And bestowing immortality on them.
> My house is full of the light
> Of the song of life today!
> This is the staff on which
> The old and the miserable, the strayed and rich shall lean
> In their distress, and obtain solace,
> People of God! come, assemble, live in this light
> Dissolve this song into your soul.
> Rejoice and partake of this immortal feast.

The Granth contains *Gurbani* or the Guru's teaching. It is the Guru incarnate. Guru Gobind Singh installed Guru Granth as the timeless Guru after him.

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* Opinions of eminent men are given below:

Pearl, Buck: It is a source-book, an expression of man's loneliness, his aspirations, his longings, his cry to God and his hunger for communication with that Being.

Dr. S. Radha Krishnan: We find in the *Adi Granth*, a wide range of mystical emotions, intimate expressions of the personal realization of God and rapturous hymns of divine love

Dr. Rajendra Prasad: There is much in the *Granth Sahib* should interest the people of all faiths. It would provide a healthy corrective to those who may be inclined to lay undue stress on the exclusiveness of languages and religious traditions.

Dunoan Greenless: Among the world's scriptures, few, if any, attain so high a literary level, or so constant a height of inspiration.

Guru Granth Sahib is a sort of living Guru in the midst of the Sikhs. Guru means guide or torchbearer. Guru Granth gives light and good counsel. Those who are in difficulty or trouble read Guru Granth Sahib and obtain solace and comfort from its hymns. It is also used by the time of birth, marriage and death.

Guru Granth is regarded as the body of the Guru and is kept on a raised platform under a canopy, covered in clean clothes. A Pauri is waved over it when it is read. One must put off one's shoes, wash the feet and cover the head before taking one's seat before the Guru. This is a mode of reverence and no idolatory. The service of the Guru is following his instructions and yoking the mind to the Name.

Guru Granth Sahib is a treasure of divine knowledge and mysticism. Guru Nanak says, "My mind is a temple of love. My body is a robe divine. The Sacred Nectar flows in the temple. The *Word* is my breath and the Song is My blood." It is, therefore in the fitness of things that both Sikhs and non-Sikhs show great respect to Granth Sahib.

Guru Nanak's Japji. Not without reason, the *Japji* tops the sacred writings found in the Holy *Granth.* It is the epitome of Sikh religion and philosophy. There is a chain of thought and development of the theme of spirituality in this composition.

In the beginning, Guru Nanak defines God in the *mul mantra.* The goal of life is union with the Diving Being. This is possible by following the Guru's path and submission to *hukam:*

> How shall we know the Truth? How shall we
> rend the veil of Un-truth away?
>
> Abide by His Will, and mould yourself to His Will.
> O Nanak, that is written in your heart.

Hukum Razai implies the singing of the glories of God. God is manifest in His creation, and all-Nature obeys His Law. Man has to obey the Divine Law and then can enter the Kingdom of God.

Normally, every man has to go through the cycle of birth and death on account of his *karam*, but by His Grace, he obtains salvation.

The disciple must follow the Guru's Word. The Guru tells the devotee never to forget the Lord. The *gurmukh* obeys the Guru in every

way. The first step is the listening of the Name. By careful listening, he becomes free from sorrow and sin. The next step is acceptance of the power of the Name, by which understanding is purified. Those who have unswerving faith in the Name liberate their souls and those of their kith and kin from the cycle of birth and death. They are honoured in the Court of God. They recite the different names of the Lord. On the other hand, many men are busy in sin and worldly ambition. Creation is a play of God. This world is a kind of *karam-bhumi,* where effect must follow cause. Just as dirty clothes are cleansed by soap, in the same way, man's evil in removed by the Name:

> When a garment is defiled, it is rinsed with soap-suds.
> So when the mind is polluted with sin, we must
> scrub it with the love of the Name.

How vast is God's expanse? How great is His universe and His creation! Religious leaders and spiritualists have failed to measure His powers. He has created millions of regions, both upper and lower. No one can describe His bounties; no one can visualize His Infinitude. He alone knows Himself.

Guru Nanak writes, "Just as rivers cannot size up the ocean, in the same way, the devotee cannot assess God's greatness."

He is the King of KIngs. Millions of gods and goddesses, angels and spirits sing His praises, and yet know not the extent of His powers. He directs Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva according to His law. Yoga, is the conquest of the ego, the control over the 'self.' And yet we need His grace.

The disciple has to pass through Five Stages before he merges in the Infinite.

In three verses (*Pauri* 35 to 37), Guru Nanak elaborates the five planes of spiritual life:

(a) *Dharam Khand:* This is the Plane of Law, where the devotee understands the basis of the universe, which is governed by a certain regularity. Nights, seasons, water, fire and air are controlled by God's law. It this plane of duty man learns righteous and moral conduct as the first step towards divinity.

(b) *Gian Khand:* This is the Plane of Knowledge or Reason. How did God create forms, colours, moons, the various types of life, and the different regions? There is some purpose behind creation, and this is revealed in the Plane of Reason. The profound knowledge of spiritual values make a man proceed on his spiritual journey.

(c) *Saram Khand:* This is the Plane of Spiritual Effort. Beauty is the presiding deity of this realm. Here, understanding, intuition and wisdom are moulded. Here the genius of the sage and the seer finds its best expression. Spiritual efforts never go unrewarded.

(d) *Karam Khand:* This is the Plane of Grace.* The devotees who serve Him without motive or self iterest, and submit to His will enter the region of Grace. Here, we find congregations of holy men who enjoice in the Lord's persence.

(e) *Sach Khand:* This is the Realm of Truth. God lives in this region and watches the working of the universe. He sees His creation and rejoices in it. The true saints abide in bliss here, and in tune with Him.

In the penultimate verse of the *Japji*, Guru Nanak lays down the code of discipline for the disciple. He wants the seeker to practise the following:

(i) Chastity, or control of the body and the mind.

(ii) Steady effort and perseverence in following the spiritual path.

(iii) Use of reason and understanding which illumines the mind.

(iv) Respect for the basic truths of all religions.

(v) Fearlessness, due to perfect faith in God.

(vi) Love of God, which chastens and purifies.

(vii) The Divine Name, which leads to salvation.

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* Guru is not opposed to spiritual effort, rather both grace and effort go together. Bhai Gurdas writes: "If a disciple walks one step towards God, the Lord advances a million steps toward him."

Guru Nanak says:

> Make continence your furnace,
> Patience the goldsmith,
> Understanding the anvil,
> divine knowledge your tools,
> The fear of God the bellows,
> austerities the fire.
> Divine love the crucible,
> and melt God's name therein,
> In such a true mint,
> the Word shall be coined.

In the epilogue, the *saloka*, Guru Nanak affirms that those who meditate on the Name will have rediant faces, beaming with Divine Light, and they will bring joy and salvation to many people.

The Sukhmani. The aim of the *Sukhmani*—The Psalm of peace—is to comfort the mind and give man a sense of peace. In the words of Guru Arjan, 'he who who listens to it with love, and gives it a place in his heart shall be able to commune with the Lord.' A man who is fed up with life or overwhelemed by sorrow or anxiety will derive consolation and peace from it.

Peace of mind comes through meditation, through concentration on the attributes of God. This has to be done in a spirit of humility and supplication for His Grace. Study of scriptures, charities and sacrifices are meaningless without the spirit of self-surrender. The man who meditates on God serves His creation in everyday life. He is ready to sacrifice his comforts, nay himself, for the good of others.

There is a gradual development of thought in the twenty-four cantos of the *Sukhmani*. In the first-three cantos, the Guru mentions the advantages and the results of the practice of the Name—*Simaran*. The Name is helpful in the normal business of life. It is superior to the reading of scriptures and other religious formalities.

In cantos four to eleven, Guru Arjan gives his views on the God-man. Man's faculties are weak and he suffers from many disabilities and distractions. God's grace or mercy alone can save him. Man gets a vision of God through the company of the good. The God-man—

Superman according to others—is the ideal of every sincere devotee. The popular notions of the God-man—*Vaishnavites*, Touch-nothing saints, the socalled *Bhagats*, Salvationists, men of culture—are inadequate, because such persons have only a partial vision of God. There are many ways of worshipping Him. All seekers need His help and must turn to Him for strength and grace.

Cantos twelve to twenty mention the process by which God's grace can be won self-conceit and slander of saints bring their own punishment. Only by self-surrender of resignation to the will of God can we earn God's favour. God is Truth and nothing but the Truth. He inspires His servants. His truest servant is the Guru who moulds the lives of the disciples. The Guru inspires the disciple with the love of the Name. Unending peace and joy are obtained by meditation on the Name.

In the last four cantos—twenty to twenty-four—Guru Arjan given his own views on the Name. The Name covers both the personal and absolute aspects of God. God is present in His creation. In the Absolute form, God is not subject to matter, time or space. God transcends and unifies all. He pervades everything and is yet unaffected. The singing of the Name brings its own reward. The *Psalm of peace* confers the following benefits on the reader:

> 'Beauty, intellect, wisdom,
> Evenness of vision and realisation of oneness in diversity
> All these are realised by him who recites the Sukhmani.
> As the Holy Word is breathed into his heart by the Guru.'

Guru Granth as Literature. Punjabi language is said to have emerged from *Apbhransh* about 1000 A.D. In the twelfth century, Baba Farid wrote his *saloks* in Lehndi dialect. During the next three centuries, India was attacked by Muslim adventurers and, therefore heroic verses known as known as *Vars* became popular. During this period, the *Yogis* developed a dialect of their own which was called the saint-language and contained terms of systems of Indian philosophy. There was very little literature worth the name before the Sikh Gurus. Moreover, Punjabi was regarded as a language of the vulgar by the aristocratic and Brahamanic sections of Hindu society. The Yogis also wrote in the Sanskrit. Some Sanskriti *saloks*, are included in the *Adi Granth.*

The Sikh Gurus preached their principles in the language of the masses. The adopted popular forms of poetry such as *salok Chhant, Bara Mahan, Thhittin, Bawan Akhari, Var* (heroic ballad). The *Var* is also a song of praise. The Gurus praised the *Name* and at the same time denounced egoistic pursuits.

The Sikh Gurus enriched Punjabi literature. The crude and poor language became in their hands a treasuty of thoughts. They absorbed the diction of saint-language and current philosophies. In Guru Granth are found words associated with the Vedas, Vedanta, Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Shakatism, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam. Punjabi was also enriched by words of saint-language which owed its origin to Sanskrit.* Persian and Arabic words came through Islam.

The *Japji, Asa-di-Var* of Guru Nanak, the *Anand* of Guru Amardas, the *Sukhmani* of Guru Arjan are rightly esteemed as classics of Punjabi literature. The verses of the ninth Guru are included in the *Adi Granth.* Formalism and ritualism of Hinduism and Islam have been condemned. Great spiritual truths have been illustrated through simple and homely similes. The devotional hymns are full of sincerity and emotion.

Guru Nanak's compositions are pithy and pregnant with meaning. He has not only touched spiritual problems but also social and human relationships.

The example set by Sikh Gurus led to fruitful results. According to Prof. Puran Singh Muslem saints like Main Mir, Bulle Shah and Shah Hussain began writing poems in Panjabi under the influence of Guru Arjan. On the whole the Gurus not only enriched the Panjabi language but also inspired other authors to write Panjabi literature.

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* Trumpp: The Granth is the treasury of old Hindwi dialects.

15

Gems from the Sikh Scriptures

Here are a few quotations from the scriptures arranged according to themes:*

Actions:

1. We shall have to render an account of our actions.

(I, Asa)

Actor

2. O, foolish man, why do you grumble,
When you are rewarded according to your Own actions.

(V. Sukhmani)

As an actor in a play appears in many guises,
So God His play is ended abondons the guise,
And appears as the one only. (I, Suhi)

Adultery

1. As one lieth with a venomous serpent
So it is going to another woman's bed. (V. Asa)
2. He is blind who deserteth his own wife
And commiteth adultery with another's wife in meanness of conscience.

(Namdev, Bhairo)

Alms-giving:

He who earneth by his own exertions
And giveth something out of that in alms,
Nanak, he hath found the way to the Lord.

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* All quotations are from the Adi Granth, unless mentioned otherwise.

Back-biter:

A back-biter is indeed a friend
He cleanses us from sin.

(Kabir, Gauri)

Begging:

He who calls himself a preacher
And yet goes a-begging,
Do not bow to him.

(IV, Sri Rag)

Boon:

Grant we this boon
O God, from Thy Greatness,
May I never refrain from righteous acts;
May I fight without fear
All foes in life's battle,
With confident courage
Claiming Thy Victory!

(X, Chandi Charitra)

Brahm-Giani:

He Gurbraces voluntary poverty
He is the persional frunt if service.

Brahmin:

He in deed is a Brahmin
Who sees Brahm (God) in all
Who is disciplined and devoted to Brahm,
Who is peaceful and in calm conten.

Bravery:

He is brave who fighteth for downtrodden

(Kabir)

Caste:

Caste and distines depend upon ones actions and deeds.

Chosen:

The Lord's Chosen are absorbed in the Lord's Name.

The pain of birth and fear of death are broken.
They have attained the Imperishable Lord; Great honour is theirs in all regions.

Compassion:

Let compassion be thy mosque,
Let faith be thy prayer-mat,
Let honest living be thy Koran,
Let modesty be the rules of observance.

Contentment:

It is the bull of religion, born of mercy and contentment,
That is upholding the whole universe.

(Japji)

Creation:

No one can measure or count Thy creation, O' Lord,
I see all as created by Thy Will, sustained by Thy Law,
And Thy compassion, there are worlds beyond worlds,
Millions are the under worlds, millions are the skies.

Destiny:

Pain and pleasure are thy destiny,
Man has to wear these by turns."

Discretion:

Farid, if thou hast discretion,
Note not with a black mark
The ill-deeds of thy neighbour,
Look first in thy own heart.

(Farid)

Ego:

As long as waves rise in the mind and
It is filled with egoism and pride
It will not relish the Word and love of the name.

(IV, Sarang)

Egoism and Name are opposed to each other,
The two cannot abide together.

Error:

Error is caused by greed,
By attachment to the world of illusion
When we slough off error,
We grasp the one True Lord. (I, Suhi)

Evil:

It is the evil and distortion within ourselves,
That keep us from seeing God's perfect world.

Evil spirit:

Call him an evil spirit,
Who hankereth after *Maya,* lust, anger and pride.
(III, Gujri)

Exertion:

In this universe that I behold,
What can a man get without exertion, (Japji)

Faith:

Better be felled to the ground.
Than turn a traitor [illegible] the faith. (IX, Salok)

Fear:

He alone fears who practises sin,
The virtuous is ever happy,
Why should we fear anybody,
When we know the Lord is true and just? (III, Sri Rag)

Foes:

To consider the friends and foes alike
In the highway to the Lord. (V, Gujri)

Fool:

Call him a perfect fool,
Who is the slave of his passions—greed, lust
And pride. (I, Var Manjh)

Forgiveness:

Cultivate forgiveness and forbearance,
Fulfil your vows.
Practise seif-control and patience.

Friend:

I search for the Friend;
But my Friend is always with me.

Gambling:

Gambling is all in vain. (I, Gauri)

Garden:

In thy heart is garden, plant
Like seeds, the Word of the *Guru,*
And water thy garden with love
And all thy orchards shall bear the pracious fruitage.
Of the Holy Name of God.

Glory:

By singing His glory
The impurities shall be washed away. (Sukhmani)

God:

1. God is beyond the *Vedas,*
   Beyond the Holy Books.
2. Nanak saith: O my mind, thou art an image of God
3. Grasp the true source of thy being,
   God is real; all His creation is real,
   When He likes He manifests himself
   When He likes He stays as one.
4. God is the Hidden,
   He is also the Visible.
   With attributes and without attributes.

Good Company:

In good company a man becomes good.
He runs after virtues and washes himself clean of vices.

(I, Asa)

Guru:

1. The Guru thus having taught you,
   Disciples: quench in the water
   Of the Lord's Name the four fires

Cruelty, anger, greed and worldly love;
Then the lotus of the inner heart heart shall blossom;
Then the thirst of the soul shall be quenched with nectar.

2. The perfect Guru has dispelled
The darkness of delusion from my heart.

Grace:

When God's grace rains, the seeker
Meets a kind Compassionate Guru.

Heart:

O, mischievous heart, thy Master is seeing every act of thine.
Whatever, thou doest, He is beholding,
Nothing is concealed from him.

Heretics:

The heretics are lost in hypocrisy and doubt;
The load of covetousness sinketh their boat.

(IV, Bilawal)

Hunger:

Hunger is not satisfied without eating,
Pain leaves when the disease is cured,
Under the influence of lust, greed and attachment,
A man does not remember His creator. (V, Bhairo)

Humility:

1. Know that God dwells in all souls
And so become the dust of the feet of all.
This way take to the love of god, regard your
Life, soul, body and wealth His Property. (V, Gond)

2. Consider yourself the humblest of the humble.

Husband:

Do what thy husband biddeth,
Make obedience thy toilet (V, Asa)

Hypocrite:

The hypocrite closeth his eyes
And nose to deceive the people,
He closeth his eyes with the fingers saying:

'I see the three worlds';
But he knoweth not what passeth just behind him?
(I, Dhanasri)

Idols:

He who considereth that the stone is God Worshippeth in vain.
(Kabir)

Illwill:

Do not cherish illwill for any person,
For the Lord resideth in all. (V, Gauri)

Image:

Nor cast down by sorrow,
Nor over-elate in joy,
Aloof from the power
Of pride, greed and coveting:
Such a man, saith Nanak,
Is the image of God. (IX, Salok)

Infidal:

The infidel hath tasted not the Divine Love:
He is suffering from the thorn of pride. (IV, Gauri)

Ingrate:

He who talks evil of him of whose salt he eats
Only he can know the punishment inflicted upon him.
(Japji)

Intoxication:

By drinking wine,
One invites much misery. (I, Bilawal)

Introspection:

Those are pure who know what they are!

Karma:

Karma is the cause of birth in this world,
But salvation can be obtained by His Grace.

Knowledge:

(i) Like cawing of a crow, some people repeat words of knowledge,

But their hearts are full of greed, falsehood any vanity.
Without the Name, they will be found out in the end.
(II, Bilawal)

(ii) Make knowledge your yeast,
The praise of God the bread you eat,
And the fear of God your meat.
This, O Nanak, is the true spiritual food.
Make divine Name your sustenance. (IV, Bihagra)

Lotus

Always look up on High, living amongst thy kith and kin,
As the lotus that hath its roots in mud.
(IV, Maru)

Love:

(i) Not by intellectualisation, not by study,
Nor by cleverness can He be attained.
Only through Love we can reach Him,
And that too, only if He so wills.

(ii) A life devoid of love is a flower blooming in wilderness,
With nobody to enjoy its fragrance. (Kabir, Gauri)

Maya:

That is Maya, which makes one forget the Lord,
Produces attachment and creates duality. (III, Anand)

Medicine:

Tear off all other prescriptions and take the medicine of His Name;
The fever of sins shall vanish and thou shalt get tranquillity.

Meditation:

Nanak! Meditate on God's Name, ever optimistic be,
Act upon His Will, think good of humanity.

Metempsychosis:

Through His service,
Metempsychosis can be put to an end.
(Sukhmani)

Mind:

This mind of man is a gem, a diamond,
A pearl of incalculable value.

Miracle:

(i) Nanak, call that a miracle
Which the Lord graciously bestoweth.

(ii) Except the true Name, I have no miracle.

(iii) Miracles delude fools only
Who have no God in their hearts.

Music:

Divine music is heard
In every soul reverberant,
Continuous, self-sustained, a revelation!
Few are the saints
Who are granted this understanding,
Nanak, release from hondage
Comes from contemplating the *Word*
Forget not the Holy Name. (I, Sri Rag)

Name:

(i) He whose heart is filled with *Nam,*
Realises the pressure of the Lord everywhere.
Every moment he offers his obeisance to Him.
He goes beyond the influence of Maya and saves all. (V. Sukhmani)

(ii) Brother! the medicine of the Name is within the souls of all of us.
But without the perfect Guru, we do not know how to use it.
The perfect Guru administers it with appropriate precautions.
And the disease never recurs.
(V, Gauri Bawan Akhri)

(iii) For the Lord loves those on whose lips is His name,
Their pride shall vanish and theirs be the bliss.

(iv) Without the Divine Name,

We cannot attain inner peace,
Nor still our inner hunger. (I, Sidh-Gosht)

(v) The Name will percolate within the heart,
And give us a feeling of stability and peace.
The Name of God is the real alchemic elixir.
The Lord pulls us out of the mud with His own hands.

Nectar:

Within your own body is the true pool of immortality.
Let your mind drink the nectar there.

Omens:

Good or bad omens and moments
Are the inventions of an ignorant mind. (III, Bilawal)

Omnipotence:

The whole of the creation showeth sings of Thy discipline.
Sayeth Nanak: Only Thou, O Lord!
Art independent and fearless. (Asa-di-Var)

Omnipresence:

One looks in front and in rear,
But what can one conseal from Thee! (I, Gauri)

Pain:

Pain is a medicine,
Pleasure is a disease.

Passions:

Without subduing thy passion
How can thou find the Lord? (II, Gauri)

Pride:

Pride is the root of evils.

Promise-breaker:

He who fulfilleth not his promise and telleth lies,
Sinneth much and is not worthy to be relied upon
(I, Maru)

Prostitute:

The prostitute committeth adultery quite shamelessly. (V. Bhairo)

Radiance:

O, Nanak, their faces are radiant,
And in their hearts is joy
Born of the music of His Word.

Remembrance:

Men repeat the name of God with their lips,
But peace comes when it fills their hearts.
(V, Bawan Akhri)

Renunciation:

O, Renouncer! Renunciation of luxury,
Anger and lust is praise-worthy.

Repentance:

When a man comes to know of his fault,
He should repent of it. (I, Ramkali)

Resignation:

What thou doest is for my good
Nanak seeketh happiness at Thy feet alone. (V. Bilawal)

Saints:

The society of saints removeth all sins,
The society of saints secureth comforts,
In this world and the next. (V, Sukhmani)

Salvation:

If a man loves to see God,
How little he cares for salvation and paradise. (I, Asa)

Self:

He who conquers the self,
Conquers the whole world. (Japji)

Shrine:

Of all shrines, the most sacred shrine,
Nanak, is the heart in which God dwelleth! (Sukhmani)

Soul:

The soul neither dies,
Nor can it be destroyed. (V, Gond)

Stream:

As out of a single stream
Countless waves arise,
And, being water, fall
Back in water again
So from God's from emerge
Alive and inanimate things
And since they arise from Him
They shall fall in Him again. (X Akal Ustat)

Talk:

The knowledge of God cannot be obtained by mere talk,
Talk will not assist in understanding the Divin Essence.

Transcience:

(i) O man! This universe is transient. (V, Gauri)

(ii) Woe to him who sayeth
This is my permanent abode. (Kabir, Gaur)

Truth:

(i) Truth is the panacea for all ills,
It washeth and driveth away all sins,
Nanak boweth to those
That have truth within them.

(ii) Truth makes us free, Truth destroys doubt,
Truth destroys every sickness of the soul.

(iii) Truth is good enough,
But higher still is true living.

(iv) Truth will prevail in the end. (I, Manjh)

Universe:

(i) The universe is a mainfestation of God.

(ii) No one knows the expanse of the universe.

Virtuous:

Day and night shall I remain happy,
If I can get the dust of the feet of the virtuous.

(Asa-di-Var)

Water Wheel:

The water-wheel that will lift
From the well of thy soul
Is humility and service.
Water thy soul's garden,
Then the great Gardener
Shall find thee acceptable. (V, Bhairo)

Wealth:

(i) There is the peace after earning much wealth.

(ii) Why art thou crying for wealth;
All thy yearning for riches is false

(V Gauri)

Wine:

By drinking wine, one comes to grief.

Womanhood:

Why should we call her evil,
Who giveth birth to kings and great men. (Asa-di-Var)

Yama:

Through contact with a saint,
The perpetrator of even ten million sin is saved
Yama dare not approach him.

Yoga:

(i) He who controls the five senses
And does not falter
Knows the way of Yoga.

(ii) To line untainted in the midst of temptation
Is to practise the true Yoga technique.

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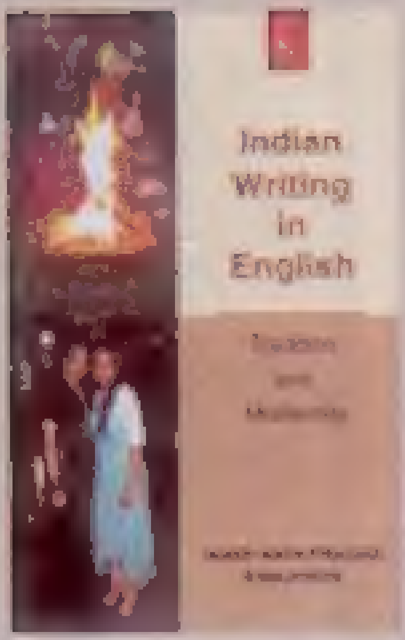

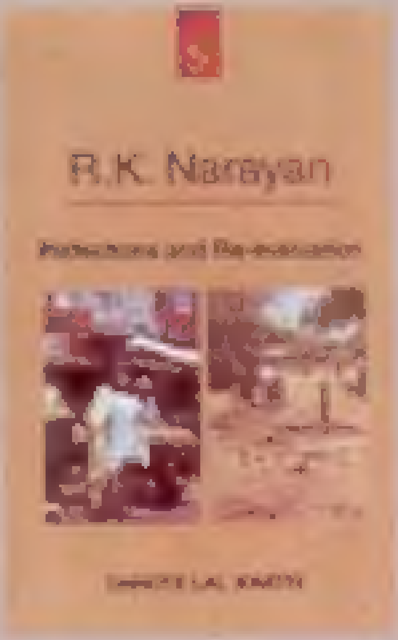

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